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 TO AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION IN THE MIDWEST.
 MORRISSETT, IRVING * AND OTHERS
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*SOCIAL SCIENCES, * CONFERENCES, *CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT,
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 GEOGRAPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE, CURRICULUM GUIDES,
 RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM EXPLORED WAYS OF OBTAINING GREATER COOPERATION AND COMMUNICATION AMONG THE VARIOUS KINDS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE CONCERNED WITH CREATIVE INNOVATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION--INCLUDING CLASSROOM TEACHERS, CURRICULUM DIRECTORS, SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS, UNIVERSITY EDUCATORS, AND SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. THE BASIC NEEDS FOR WHICH THE CONSORTIUM WAS FORMED ARE--(1) INCREASING DESIRE AND READINESS ON THE PART OF MANY SCHOOL SYSTEMS FOR MORE ACADEMICALLY ORIENTED SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULA, (2) INCREASING INTEREST AMONG SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AND EDUCATORS IN COOPERATING TO MEET THESE NEEDS, (3) LACK OF ADEQUATE MECHANISMS FOR CHANNELING, ORGANIZING, AND COORDINATING THESE DESIRES AND INTERESTS, (4) INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION AMONG CURRICULUM PROJECTS, AND (5) INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION AND WORKING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CURRICULUM PROJECTS AND SCHOOLS AND EDUCATORS. THE FOUR PARTS OF THIS REPORT CONTAIN (1) BACKGROUND AND RESULTS--ORIGIN, PURPOSE, AND OVERVIEW OF CONSORTIUM, (2) COMMUNICATION AND LIAISON--NEWSLETTERS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS, CONFERENCES, VISITS AND OTHER SCHOLARLY LIAISON, MATERIALS LIBRARY AND MATERIALS ANALYSIS, AND ADMINISTRATION, (3) CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION--PROBLEM REVIEW, DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CONFERENCE REPORT, LITERATURE ABSTRACTS, AND TEACHING STRATEGIES, (4) CONTENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION--RETRIEVING SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE FOR SECONDARY CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, REPORTS ON SOCIOLOGY, THE STRUCTURE OF GEOGRAPHY, A SYSTEM APPROACH TO POLITICAL LIFE, THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, ANTHROPOLOGY AND ECONOMICS. THE CONTINUATION OF THIS FINAL REPORT IS CONTAINED IN DE-6-10-327 (ED010085), THE TWO REPORTS SHOULD BE READ TOGETHER FOR A COMPLETE PICTURE OF THIS PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSORTIUM. (GC)

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TO AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION IN THE MIDWEST

COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT
NO. CL-5-10-174

Irving Morrisett, Director
Purdue University

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
Office of Education

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TO AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION IN THE MIDWEST

6/24/66
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TO AID IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION IN THE MIDWEST

Cooperative Research Project No. OE 5-10-174

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1964-66

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, under the provisions of the Cooperative Research Program.

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FOREWORD

This report covers the work of the Social Science Education Consortium from August 15, 1964 to January 31, 1966, under Cooperative Research Project OE-5-10-174. A supplemental contract for the period December 1, 1965 to March 31, 1966, Cooperative Research Project OE-6-10-327, made it possible to round out and complete much of the work begun under the first contract. The two reports should be read together for a complete picture of this period of development in which the Social Science Education Consortium explored ways of obtaining greater cooperation and communication among the various kinds of people who are concerned with creative innovation in social science education--including classroom teachers, curriculum directors, school administrators, university educators, and social scientists. As an aid to presentation of this whole picture, the table of contents of this report includes a copy of the table of contents of the report on the supplemental contract.

The authors of this report debated at length with themselves over the question of whether it should be kept relatively brief, or should contain a full report of all the work accomplished. It was our feeling that the decision most compatible with our goal of making curriculum development efforts of all kinds widely known and available would be to make a full report of all our work.

Since the parts of this report were produced at different times and not in the sequence given here, pagination is not consecutive. A system of colored title pages has been used to guide the reader, as indicated in the Table of Contents.

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PART I

BACKGROUND AND RESULTS

Section 1

ORIGINS AND PURPOSES OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

ORIGINS AND PURPOSES OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

As a part of its effort to inspire creative new research and development in the social studies, the Panel on Educational Research and Development helped to organize a two-day conference of social scientists and educators at Purdue University in May 1963. The conference was sponsored by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation of the Council of Ten and the University of Chicago (CIC) and financed by the National Science Foundation.

Social scientists and educators from eleven midwestern institutions met with representatives from the Panel on Educational Research and Development, the National Science Foundation, and the U.S. Office of Education. The participants exchanged ideas on the nature of the problems confronting social science education and on possible approaches to solutions. (The participants in this conference are listed in an appendix at the end of this section.)

Diagnosis

The conferees were very concerned about the processes by which social science materials find their way into the hands of the teacher. The following deficiencies were noted.

(1) Insufficient attention has been given to the basic involvement of the teacher in developing and adapting the materials of the new social science curricula.

(2) Few workable channels have existed for collaboration between school systems and social scientists interested in education.

(3) Methods for summarizing and disseminating potentially useful new work in social science education have been very inadequate.

Also, there was general agreement among the conferees that the following deficiencies characterize many of the social studies curricula.

(1) Presentation and memorization of facts are emphasized, with little attention given to causal relations, analytical methods and critical thinking.

(2) Despite the emphasis on facts, factual deficiencies are common, for several reasons: (a) the "facts" are greatly over-simplified, because of the presumed inability of young minds to deal with shades that lie between black and white. (b) The opinion prevails that children should be sheltered

from unpleasant facts of life, such as poverty, unemployment, selfishness and conflict. (c) The social studies curriculum is generally considered a proper place to inculcate values desired by the community, and facts may be selectively omitted or distorted in this process. (d) Community pressures may prevent, or be assumed to prevent, objective treatment of many social facts. (e) Social studies teachers are out of touch with knowledge that comes from the rapidly-moving research frontiers of the social science disciplines.

(3) Facts and value judgments are not distinguished, partly due to the intended purpose of using social studies as a vehicle for inculcating values, partly due to inadequate training of the teachers in analytical thinking in the social sciences.

(4) The curriculum lacks balance and integration in three ways. (a) Western countries and cultures are given a disproportionately large share of attention. (b) History and geography dominate the curriculum; when other social sciences are introduced (the role of government and of economics has been increasing in the secondary schools, and psychology, sociology, and anthropology to a lesser extent), they are not presented as part of a meaningful total framework. (c) A bridge is lacking between the areas of science and the social sciences.

(5) The social studies curriculum lags far behind the latest knowledge in subject matter and methodology. The typical sequence of history was set many decades ago, while patterns of geography and "civics" or "problems of democracy" are almost as old.

(6) Recent advances in learning theory and child development have hardly begun to affect teaching methods in the social sciences.

(7) Insufficient attention has been given to the differing needs of children, depending on their social and economic backgrounds as well as their ability. In particular, investigation is required concerning the social-science education needs of those children who are from disadvantaged families, which includes a high proportion of the children in large urban centers.

(8) A general emphasis on "citizenship training" has obscured the fact that the social sciences include systematic bodies of knowledge which, like the natural sciences, are of interest for their own sake and which offer useful and interesting career opportunities in teaching, research, and in practical applications. An advanced concept of citizenship today must include

an understanding of the concepts, methods, and applications of the behavioral sciences to personal and social problems.

The conference clearly revealed that a large number of persons in mid-western institutions were vitally interested in making basic changes in social science education which would reduce or eliminate these deficiencies. The activities reported here were a direct outcome of that expression of interest.

What seemed most apparent to the conferees was the need for procedures to facilitate communication and cooperation among the various individuals and groups already involved in efforts to make these basic changes, as well as some means for stimulating and directing latent interest and talents. To meet these needs, the conference concluded with the decision to establish a multidisciplinary, inter-institutional group, to be named the Social Science Education Consortium of Midwest Universities (SSEC). The name was later revised to exclude "of Midwest Universities."

Organization

The final act of the conference was to appoint an executive committee, the members of which are listed on the title page of this report, charged with the responsibility for planning how the new organization would work and with drafting a program proposal to the National Science Foundation and the U.S. Office of Education.

Subsequently, with the aid of a grant of \$3,000 from the CIC, the Executive Committee prepared and submitted to the two agencies a long-range plan for operation of the Consortium. In the following discussions between the Executive Committee and staff members of the National Science Foundation and Office of Education, it was felt that official action would be necessarily slow on a large undertaking with such novel features of organization and program. Therefore, it was recommended that the Consortium could best move ahead by securing an initial developmental contract with the Office of Education. A proposal was submitted, and in September 1964 the Office of Education executed a contract with Purdue University, on behalf of the SSEC, for \$115,697, to develop the work of the Consortium. This contract was retroactive to August 15, 1964, originally ran to August 31, 1965, and was later extended to January 31, 1966. A supplemental contract of \$15,390 from the Office of Education and

a grant of \$30,000 from the Charles F. Kettering Foundation made possible some expansion of the work, and extension of the Consortium's activities to August 31, 1966.

The Social Science Education Consortium was incorporated in November 1965, as a not-for-profit corporation under the laws of Indiana. The grant from the Kettering Foundation was made to the Corporation, and a current proposal to the U.S. Office of Education is also for a grant to the Corporation.

APPENDIX A

Participants in May, 1963, Conference at Purdue University

(with institutional affiliations at time of conference)

James Becker, Foreign Relations Project, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

Robert Berkhofer, History Department, University of Minnesota

Wilbur Brookover, Social Science Teaching Institute, Michigan State University

Joseph Casagrande, Anthropology Department, University of Illinois

David Easton, Political Science Department, University of Chicago

Robert Fox, School of Education, University of Michigan

John F. Hart, Geography Department, Indiana University

John W. Hicks, Executive Assistant to the President, Purdue University

Frederick Jackson, Carnegie Corporation

Boyd Keenan, Committee on Institutional Cooperation

Ronald Lippitt, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan

Irving Morrissett, Economics Department, Purdue University

William Pattison, Geography Department, University of California

J. W. Peltason, Political Science Department, University of Illinois

Robert Perrucci, Sociology Department, Purdue University

Stanley Salwak, Committee on Institutional Cooperation

Michael Scriven, History and Philosophy of Science Department, Indiana University

Lawrence Senesh, Economics Department, Purdue University

Peter Senn, Economics Department, Wright Junior College

Irving Sigel, Psychology, Merrill Palmer Institute

Gerald Smith, U. S. Office of Education

Richard Snyder, Political Science Department, Northwestern University

Herbert Thelen, Educational Psychology Department, University of Chicago

Joseph Turner, Office of Science and Technology

Charles Whitmer, Course Content Improvement Section, National Science Foundation

Section 2

OVERVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

OVERVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM

In eighteen months of operations under the current contract, the basic needs for which the Consortium was formed have been confirmed: the increasing desire and readiness on the part of many school systems for more academically-oriented social studies curricula; the increasing interest among social scientists and educators in cooperating to meet these needs; the lack of adequate mechanisms for channeling, organizing and coordinating these desires and interests; inadequate communication among curriculum projects; and inadequate communication and working relationships between curriculum projects and schools and educators.

The evidence of these needs is found in Consortium correspondence from scores of curriculum directors, superintendents and classroom teachers, requesting information and assistance concerning new activities in social science education; in visits of the Director and the Teacher-Intern to about two dozen curriculum projects; and in the Director's personal contacts with approximately three dozen other schools, school systems, teachers' groups, curriculum projects and university groups. Good working relations have been established with most of the major curriculum projects, and with a large number of social scientists, educators and school personnel interested in creative changes in social science curricula.

Three newsletters have been published. The current mailing list for newsletters and other Consortium mailings is about 1,400; the great majority of these names are superintendents, curriculum directors, and classroom teachers, most of whom have written to request newsletters. There is also a substantial number of persons engaged in curriculum projects.

Sixteen reports on various aspects of the Consortium's work are being published individually and will be disseminated widely. These are portions of the present report and of the report on the related supplemental contract--in some cases, edited versions. The Consortium reports that are being disseminated are indicated by asterisks in the Table of Contents of this report.

A recent invitational conference held by the Consortium illustrates the kind of unique, collaborative work which it is now possible for us to perform. A full description of this conference, called "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula," is included in this report, and is being published in

letterpress. (This is one of the sixteen reports referred to in the preceding paragraph.)

The Director has had numerous visits during the period of this contract with persons in curriculum projects and school systems, laying the groundwork for various methods of cooperation and collaboration among projects and between curriculum projects and the schools.

A particularly successful activity of the Consortium during the current academic year has been the work of a Teacher-Intern. He is an outstanding high school social studies teacher, on sabbatical leave. He has been an important member of the Central Office, taking major responsibility for acquiring, arranging, and analyzing curriculum materials in our library. He has visited a number of curriculum projects, usually for a stay of several days to a week, and has worked with the project staffs while observing their activities and discussing their work. He has been useful to the projects, particularly in conveying to them information about other projects and about the Consortium. He has been very useful to the Consortium in carrying out our information and liaison functions. In addition, he is receiving ideal training in new trends in social science education, which will be of great benefit to his own school system and to his own professional future.

A library of up-to-date working papers and curriculum materials from academically-based projects has been established, and is probably one of the most complete of its kind in the country. Such materials are not easy to acquire, and have mostly been brought together through personal contacts with project workers.

Individuals and work groups of the Consortium have tackled a number of problems which are important in the overall development of a broad new movement in social science education. Most of these tasks are things that should be done cooperatively by a number of projects, or widely shared when done by one project; in general, they have been done inadequately and shared incompletely, and more needs to be done in each of these areas. The areas in which Consortium members have worked--and produced results which are included in this report --are in the application of child development knowledge to social science curriculum development, the structuring of social science content, examination of the role of values in the social studies, examination of the preparation of teachers and their readiness for change in social studies, teaching methods in social studies, and the rationale of evaluation.

PART II

COMMUNICATION AND LIAISON

Section 3

NEWSLETTERS

NEWSLETTERS

Description

Three newsletters have been published, and copies of them follow this section. The first newsletter described the events that led to the formation of the Social Science Education, presented the Consortium's analysis of the major deficiencies in current social science education, and described the work that had been started by Consortium members as contributions to overcoming those deficiencies.

The second newsletter contained a substantive lead article on "Sociology and the School Curriculum," which grew out of work of the Consortium; also progress reports on various activities of the Consortium, descriptions of activities of a number of curriculum projects as seen by the Consortium director during his visits, a commentary on the report on Project Social Studies which appeared in the April 1965 issue of Social Education, and notes on a few bibliographical items of general interest.

The third newsletter contained a substantive article on "Values in the Curriculum," taken from some of the Consortium's ongoing work, and described several conferences in which, perhaps for the first time, comparative assessments of various academically-based curriculum efforts were the major objective. The major part of this newsletter was taken up with announcement of the availability of sixteen working papers and reports of the Consortium, and descriptions of these reports.

Nature and Role of the Newsletters

We consider the second and third newsletters as prototypes for future newsletters. Regular features intended for future newsletters are:

1. A brief substantive article of general interest and usefulness to classroom teachers and curriculum workers, such as the articles on sociology and values.
2. Current reports on activities and products of curriculum projects.
3. Current reports on conferences, and bibliographic items.
4. Commentaries on trends in social science education, particularly as related to academically-based curriculum projects.

We do not intend to duplicate information otherwise available, particularly that in Social Education, which does an excellent job of covering much of the current thinking and activity about social studies and which

goes to most of the people who receive our newsletter.

We also hope that the newsletter can be used as an instrument for encouraging curriculum projects to share their work earlier and more fully. This can be done partly by example, as in Newsletter #3, and partly through the network of communications that the Consortium is establishing.

Distribution

The first newsletter was sent to a mailing list of 830 persons, analyzed at the time as follows:

School superintendents, principals, curriculum directors and teachers	225
Deans, chairmen and professors of education	250
Other university persons	165
State commissioners of education	50
Others (government agencies and employees, publishers, research centers, libraries, businesses, private citizens)	140
	830

The deans, chairmen and professors of education, and the state commissioners of education were put on the list on our initiative. Most of the other names were added at the request of the recipients. About one thousand additional copies of the first newsletter were distributed later, to persons who were later added to the mailing list, and at various conferences and meetings.

The second newsletter went to about eleven hundred persons on our mailing list. Multiple copies were sent to about fifty of these individuals or institutions, for distribution within schools or organizations, and about two thousand additional copies have been distributed at various conferences and meetings.

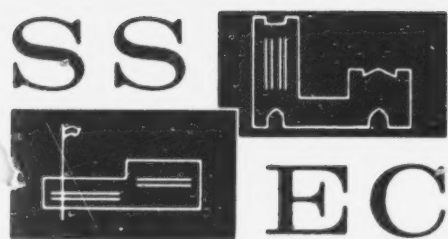
The third newsletter is being distributed to the current mailing list of about fourteen hundred names, a number of whom receive multiple copies.

The mailing list has not been analyzed since shortly after the mailing of the first newsletter. A current analysis would probably show that the great majority of names that have been added to the list since then are curriculum directors and committee members, and classroom teachers.

In addition to the regular mailing, the third newsletter, announcing the availability of sixteen SSEC reports, will be sent to the nineteen thousand names on the mailing list of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Responses to the Newsletter

Many responses to the newsletter, both written and verbal, have been received. A sampling of the written responses is included in this section. They indicate that the primary purpose of the newsletter--carrying succinct, useful materials and information to classroom teachers and curriculum committees --is being accomplished. Informal intelligence reports have shown widespread photocopying of the article and chart on sociology in the July 1965 newsletter.



Social Science Education Consortium

NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 1, NUMBER 1

FEBRUARY 1965

WHAT IS THE SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION CONSORTIUM?

In response to numerous requests for information, this newsletter is devoted to the history, purposes and present activities of the Social Science Education Consortium.

The single over-all objective of the SSEC is to encourage and support creative, cooperative work among social scientists and educators in the building and use of elementary and secondary social-studies curricula in which the content and methods of the social sciences receive the major emphasis. The specific details for attacking this objective are spelled out in the following account.

FORMATION OF THE SSEC

As a part of its effort to inspire creative new research and development in the social studies, the Panel on Educational Research and Development helped to organize a two-day conference of social scientists and educators at Purdue University in May 1963. The conference was sponsored by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation of the Council of Ten and the University of Chicago (CIC) and financed by the National Science Foundation.

Social scientists and educators from eleven midwestern institutions met with representatives from the Panel on Educational Research and Development, the National Science Foundation, and the U. S. Office of Education. The participants exchanged ideas on the nature of the problems confronting social science education and on possible approaches to solutions.

There was general agreement among the conferees that the following deficiencies characterize many of the social studies curricula.

(1) Presentation and memorization of facts are emphasized, with little attention given to casual relations, analytical methods and critical thinking.

(2) Despite the emphasis on facts, factual deficiencies are common, for several reasons: (a) the "facts" are greatly over-simplified, because of the presumed inability of young minds to deal with shades that lie between black and white; (b) the opinion prevails that children should be sheltered from unpleasant facts of life, such as poverty, unemployment, selfishness and conflict; (c) the social studies curriculum is generally considered a proper place to inculcate values desired by the community, and facts may be selectively omitted or distorted in this process; (d) community pressures may prevent, or be assumed to prevent, objective treatment of many social facts; and (e) social studies

teachers are out of touch with knowledge that comes from the rapidly-moving research frontiers of the social science disciplines.

(3) Facts and value judgments are not distinguished, partly due to the intended purpose of using social studies as a vehicle for inculcating values, partly due to inadequate training of the teachers in analytical thinking in the social sciences.

(4) The curriculum lacks balance and integration in three ways. (a) Western countries and cultures are given a disproportionately large share of attention. (b) History and geography dominate the curriculum; when other social sciences are introduced (the role of government and of economics has been increasing in the secondary schools, and psychology, sociology, and anthropology to a lesser extent), they are not presented as part of a meaningful total framework. (c) A bridge is lacking between the areas of science and the social sciences. Due to the impact of science and technology on society, such an omission can be catastrophic to our cherished democratic values.

(5) The social studies curriculum lags far behind the latest knowledge in *subject matter and methodology*. The typical sequence of history was set many decades ago, while patterns for geography and "civics" or "problems of democracy" are almost as old.

(6) Recent advances in learning theory and child development have hardly begun to affect teaching methods in the social sciences.

(7) Insufficient attention has been given to the differing needs of children, depending on their social and economic backgrounds as well as their ability. In particular, investigation is required concerning the social-science education needs of those children who are from disadvantaged families, which includes a high proportion of the children in large urban centers.

(8) A general emphasis on "citizenship training" has obscured the fact that the social sciences include systematic bodies of knowledge which, like the natural sciences, are of interest for their own sake and which offer useful and interesting career opportunities in teaching, in research, and in practical applications. An advanced concept of citizenship today must include

Copies of this and subsequent newsletters will be sent free upon request to:

Irving Morrisett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
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an understanding of the concepts, methods, and applications of the social sciences to personal and social problems.

What seemed most apparent to the conferees was the need for procedures to facilitate communication and cooperation among the various individuals and groups already involved in efforts to make these basic changes, as well as some means for stimulating and directing latent interest and talents. To meet these needs, the conference concluded with the decision to establish a multi-disciplinary, inter-institutional group, to be named the Social Science Education Consortium.

The conference appointed an executive committee of six persons who, with the aid of a grant of \$3,000 from the CIC, proceeded with organizational plans, including the preparation of a proposal to the U. S. Office of Education for support of the new organization. In September 1964 the Office of Education executed a contract with Purdue University, for \$115,697, to develop the work of the Consortium. This contract was retroactive to August 15, 1964 and extends to August 31, 1965. Discussions have been held with the Office of Education and the National Science Foundation concerning further support, and a proposal is being prepared for joint submission to these two agencies for support of the SSEC from 1965 to 1968.

INFORMATION, COOPERATION, AND LIAISON

A principal purpose of the SSEC is to increase liaison and the flow of communications between social-science education projects. This is being done through conferences, interproject visits, and the accumulation and dissemination of project information.

At a meeting of the 24-member Council of the SSEC at the Bismarck Hotel in Chicago on October 2 and 3, brief reports on the objectives, procedures and progress of most of the major social-science projects in the Midwest, including the Consortium projects just beginning, were distributed and discussed. Participants in most of the projects were present, either as Council members or as guests, and much of the meeting was spent in an exchange of ideas and information about the projects. There was strong expression of the need for such communication between operating projects.

A central office for the Consortium has been established at 404 Hayes Street, West Lafayette, Indiana, just off the Purdue campus. The Director, Irving Morrisett, is devoting 60 per cent of his time to SSEC activities. In addition, there is a full-time secretary, Mrs. Katherine Elbring, a half-time typist, and a quarter-time research assistant. Recent activities of the director have included a number of conferences at the November meetings of the National Council of Social Studies in St. Louis, a visit to the University of Wisconsin to discuss Consortium activities with interested persons there, conferences with officials of the Office of Education and the National Science Foundation concerning the development of Consortium activities, and attendance at planning and working conferences of the Consortium project on child development research, which is described below. The central office has also assisted in the recruitment of personnel for some of the Consortium projects which have been started at six institutions and which are described below.

SURVEY OF SOCIAL-SCIENCE TEACHERS AND TEACHING

The first phase of a comprehensive survey of social science curriculum and teaching is under way at Michigan State University. The long-range purpose is to obtain reliable data on a broad scale concerning the current practices and content in social-science teaching, and to assess the obstacles in the way of bringing about changes in these practices and content. The immediate objective is to develop instruments for this survey, and to test them in a pilot survey. A review of recent surveys of social studies and an analysis of the current curriculum guides is now underway.

Conferences of social scientists from half a dozen universities and of social studies teachers from various areas in Michigan were held in December 1964, to help in the identification of the exact knowledge that is needed. The pilot survey will be designed and carried out during the current academic year.

The project is under the direction of Wilbur Brookover, Professor of Sociology and Education and Director of the Social Science Teaching Institute at Michigan State University.

VALUES IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The role of values in social-studies curricula is being studied in a project at Indiana University. The first objective is to describe and assess the way in which values are now handled, both explicitly and implicitly, in the curricula. The second objective is to develop position papers and materials dealing with values, which are systematic and methodologically defensible. Some of the work will be done in conjunction with the pilot survey of teachers and teaching at Michigan State University.

The director of this and the following project is Michael Scriven, Professor of the History and Philosophy of Science at Indiana University.

EVALUATION IN SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

Information on evaluation methods of particular relevance to social science education is being assessed. A portfolio of materials will be provided to Consortium and other interested projects, including an analytical list of questions and suggestions about criteria and methods of evaluation. A paper or monograph on the "state of art" will be produced and circulated for criticism; the paper and the criticisms of it will be published. Experts will be made available to curriculum projects that have special problems or needs in evaluation.

Since a principal purpose of the Consortium is to facilitate communication among groups and individuals with an interest in social science education, readers' comments will be most welcome on:

- The kinds of information they feel would be most useful in future issues of this newsletter.
- Specific items they would suggest for inclusion in future newsletters.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN CURRICULUM PROJECT

The purposes of this project are to identify major concepts, propositions, conceptual models and methodological principles in the social sciences, with the emphasis on psychology, social psychology, micro-sociology and related concepts from anthropology; to elaborate the means for adapting and integrating these concepts and principles for use in the high school curriculum, as units in current courses or as new courses; to discover factors which might facilitate or inhibit the acceptance of such curriculum developments by curriculum administrators, and their eventual use by teachers; and to develop and try out some curriculum units with high school classes on a pilot basis.

The project is under the direction of Ronald Lippitt, Professor of Psychology and Sociology at the University of Michigan and Program Director, Center for the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge of the Institute for Social Research. Other members of the project team are Mark Chesler, a social psychologist; Charles Jung, an educational psychologist; William Nimroth, Social Studies Curriculum Director; and Milan Marich, Professor of Social Studies Methods. In the beginning phases of the work, the team is conducting a series of group interviews with selected panels of scientists and educators, as the basis for preparing summaries and materials on the concepts, propositions, models and principles of the social sciences which are most relevant for teaching at the secondary level.

PURDUE CURRICULUM PROJECT

The Purdue project, in contrast to the Michigan work, is stressing the fundamental ideas of economics, political science, micro-sociology and anthropology, and will relate these materials to a curriculum structure for grades K-6. Sample classroom units will be developed, relating these social sciences also to geography and history. In each unit, a particular social science will play a leading role, with the others in supporting roles.

The project is under the direction of Lawrence Senesh, Professor of Economic Education at Purdue. Team members include Robert Perrucci, Professor of Sociology at Purdue, and David Easton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

A review of available knowledge about child development which is relevant to constructing social-science curricula is being made at the Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life in Detroit. The purpose is to assess what is known about concept acquisition and readiness, and to relate this knowledge to specific problems in constructing and teaching social-science curriculum materials.

Also, a brief survey is being made of some of the most widely-used social studies texts, to assess the extent to which current knowledge about child development is recognized in curriculum construction.

A small conference including economists, political sci-

entists and a historian from several universities was held in November, to help spell out specific problems and goals; and a working conference of consulting psychologists and team members was held in early February.

The project director is Irving Sigel, Chairman of Research at the Merrill-Palmer Institute.

METHODS RESEARCH

A study is under way at the University of Chicago on methods of guiding a class from an initial confronting experience with social-science materials, at the beginning of a new unit or sub-unit, to the formulation of questions or problems that the class is motivated to investigate. The study is aimed at principles of developing suitable confronting materials and suitable techniques for guiding discussion.

The expected outcomes of the project are preparation and critique of several illustrative sets of confronting materials; elucidation of principles for constructing such materials; description of several strategies of teacher leadership from initial confrontation to formulation of foci for investigation; and critiques of these strategies, showing when each may be appropriate and the values and costs of each.

Director of the project is Herbert Thelen, Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Chicago.

IN SUMMARY

The current activities of the Social Science Education Consortium represent a beginning attack on some major problems in social science education: first, on inadequate information and liaison; second, on substantive problems of curriculum construction, testing and dissemination. Projects being undertaken in the first year are activities for which a need was seen and manpower was available. The program during the next few years hopefully will expand beyond the present dimensions, but not into an integrated, self-contained curriculum project. The Consortium hopes to play an important role in stimulating cooperation, liaison and a flow of communication among all projects in the Midwest, and in encouraging a fruitful diversity of attacks on the general problem of building and adopting greatly improved social studies curricula, guided by and oriented to the most advanced knowledge about content and method in the social sciences. To a large extent, the tasks undertaken by the Consortium will be in the nature of "filling the gaps"—of doing needed work not otherwise being done, of recruiting resources that otherwise might not be used.

THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Council is the governing body of the SSEC, and the Executive Committee is responsible for implementation of overall policy. The members of the Council are shown on the next page, with members of the Executive Committee indicated by an asterisk.

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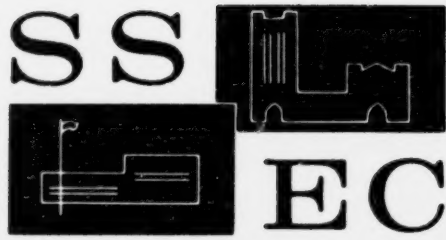
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SOCIOLOGY AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

By Robert Perrucci

A basic need of persons engaged in improving social science education is a statement of the fundamental concepts and structure of the social sciences on which they draw. Such a statement would ideally be clear, simple and academically sound—requirements which may conflict with each other.

Working with Purdue University's SSEC curriculum project, which is directed by Professor Lawrence Senesh, Professor Robert Perrucci of Purdue's Department of Sociology has essayed the difficult task of making such a statement for the discipline of sociology, in a longer paper not yet available for general distribution. The following brief article by Professor Perrucci is a distillation of that paper.—Editor.

Sociology instruction plays a minor role in our schools. To the extent that sociology does enter the curriculum, it is mainly *descriptive*, as in some Problems of Democracy courses, and *prescriptive*, as in courses on Marriage and the Family. Few if any glimpses are given of sociology as a broad *analytical* social science which explains man's behavior in society.

If the resources of sociology are to be used to help our youth understand the world in which they live, the curriculum must reflect our current knowledge about (1) the nature and importance of individual and social values, (2) how values shape institutions, groups and organizations, (3) how men react with one another through the various positions and roles they assume in groups and organizations, and (4) how the interaction between the individual and society may result either in the preservation or the modification of the values and institutions of society. This article describes these fundamental ideas and relationships.

Values and Norms

Values are the main source of energy and guidance in a social system. For individuals, values supply the strong motivations that make them strive for desirable objectives, such as affection, material goods and security, in a wide variety of social contexts. For society, values upon which there is a consensus supply the guidelines which individuals are expected to observe and the framework within which children are trained. Values are so important in a social system that they may be likened to the heart in a biological system—the main moving force, supplying elements that reach and mightily influence all parts of the system, but also influenced by events that occur throughout the system.

Values are those goals or objectives or desirable things in which individuals have an emotional investment—things that they want, consider as important, desire to become, and enjoy. *Norms* are statements, based on those values on which there is substantial social agreement, concerning modes of behavior that are desired or prescribed by society. Norms are the "oughts" and the "shoulds" of society, supported by rewards and penalties, subtly guiding or forcefully restricting the behavior of all individuals in the system. The important role of values and norms in a social system is indicated by their location at the top and

center of the accompanying diagram.

Expectations

A significant part of man's social life is based upon a set of *expectations* regarding the behavior of other persons; these expectations are based primarily on society's values and norms. A man crossing the street with the light in his favor expects that autos will stop. Drivers in turn expect that pedestrians will not dart out in front of their autos. Guided by these complementary expectations which in this case are based upon more or less explicit rules, the attainment of the independent objectives of both drivers and pedestrians is possible.

There are often departures from the expectations which drivers and pedestrians have of each other, and the web of expectations can stand a certain amount of strain. However, there are points beyond which excessive departures from expected behavior will result in chaos, destroying most or all of the benefits of the set of mutual expectations; in the example, drivers would lose their freedom to proceed with speed and confidence, and pedestrians would lose their safety. There are similar expectations that family members have of each other, that members of a work group have of each other, and that friends have of each other. Again, serious departures from shared expectations can result in reduced effectiveness of the group, or in permanent damage to the relationships involved.

Institutions

As norms and values take a specific area of activity as their referent, we get a meaningful cluster that defines the patterns of behavior in specific situations. These collections of ideas about behavior in specific areas of human activity determine the *social institutions* which are, as one sociologist has put it, the maps or blueprints for living. As an example, we have norms which specify which persons may enter courtship relations, engage in socially approved sexual relationships, raise children, and the like; the cluster of norms and values concerned with these matters constitute the family institution. There are also norms and values concerning the production and consumption of goods, the allocation of power, the formal training of the young, and the ways of dealing with sacred things. These are respectively the economic, political, educational, and religious institutions.

Groups and Organizations

Values and norms are ideas concerning behavior, and social institutions are also abstractions that exist in the minds of men. These ideas must reach individuals in some concrete form if they are to influence social behavior, and that form is the many social groupings in which man is involved. The main groupings through which man participates in the mainstream of social life are small, face-to-face groups and the large, formally organized collectivities, with replaceable members, called *organizations*.

Groups and organizations are the embodiment of institutions. The family institution, for example, is embodied in the family group and in that part of the legal organization of society which makes and enforces rules about family relationships. Economic institutions are embodied in various economic organizations, such as corporations and labor unions, and also in organizations which are predominantly political, such as government regulatory agencies. Political institutions are embodied in political organizations such as courts, governmental units and political parties; educational institutions in schools and also in the family group; and religious institutions in organizations such as churches and parochial schools.

Positions

Organizations and groups are not haphazard collections of individuals and activities. Both types of groupings must see to it that certain tasks which are essential for the continued existence of the groupings are fulfilled. This is accomplished through the internal structures of organizations and groups, containing the *positions* which specify the activities for persons occupying the positions. People learn what is expected of them, and are exposed to the expectations that others have of them, when they assume certain positions. Expectations are therefore not diffuse things, but tend to be attached to positions in different social groupings. When the positions are filled the expectations are activated and applied to the occupants of the positions.

Some of the social categories containing such positions are represented in the figure. Groups are represented by the family, organizations by businesses, political parties, schools, and churches. Such groupings as these, and others, constitute the social structures in which individuals are involved. This involvement means that men occupy positions in different social structures, and are thereby subjected to expectations concerning how they think, feel or believe by other persons also occupying positions in the social structure.

Social Roles

The fact that any social structure or system of social relationships can be described in terms of the positions that constitute the structure does not explain the actual behavior of persons in positions. Man is not a passive agent, filling positions, being subjected to expectations, and behaving in accord with such expectations. Despite the similarity of the positions, there is considerable variability in the manner in which persons in the same positions behave. All mothers and fathers, for example, do not behave in the same fashion *vis a vis* their children. This variability is due in part to the fact that when a person occupies a position he brings to this position his own values, attitudes, personality characteristics, and life experiences. These elements are the basis upon which an individual interprets the position he occupies and evaluates his actions.

A second way in which individuals influence the positions they fill stems from the fact that each individual

occupies multiple positions as a member of many organizations and groups. This multiple group membership leads to multiple expectations which are often different and incompatible. The way in which an individual reconciles these differences leads him to shape the positions he occupies, as well as to influence other persons who occupy the positions related to his own. The specific behavior in a position, which results from all these sources of variation, constitutes the *social role* of a person in a particular position.

Social Aggregates

Other sources of influence on the behavior of individuals are the various *social aggregates* in which man is involved. Social aggregates are groupings in which there is no formal organizational structure, and in which the members are not necessarily in face-to-face or day-to-day contact. Examples are social classes, communities and ethnic groups. The members of such an aggregate may or may not think of themselves as belonging to it, and may or may not be aware of influences on their behavior stemming from such membership.

Social aggregates thus differ markedly from groups and organizations, although there may be important relationships between these types of groupings. Membership in an ethnic group may, for example, be the basis for an informal friendship group in a neighborhood, and could also be the basis for a formal fraternal organization.

Man in Society; Stability and Change

The diagram gives some indication of the many influences and pressures that impinge upon an individual as a member of a social system. An individual may find that there is little incompatibility between these social influences and his own values and preferred behavior. To the extent that this is so, he is likely to lend support to the norms of his society, thus strengthening the set of expectations and social institutions upon which the social structure is based.

On the other hand, an individual may find that his own values and preferred behavior are in conflict with the prevailing social influences. In this case, his behavior will tend to modify the social norms, and thus to change the expectations and social institutions and the social structure that is based upon them. Actions to modify social norms and structure may range from many isolated deviant behaviors which add up to institutional changes without individuals being aware that they are contributing to such changes, to purposefully organized group efforts to change existing social arrangements.

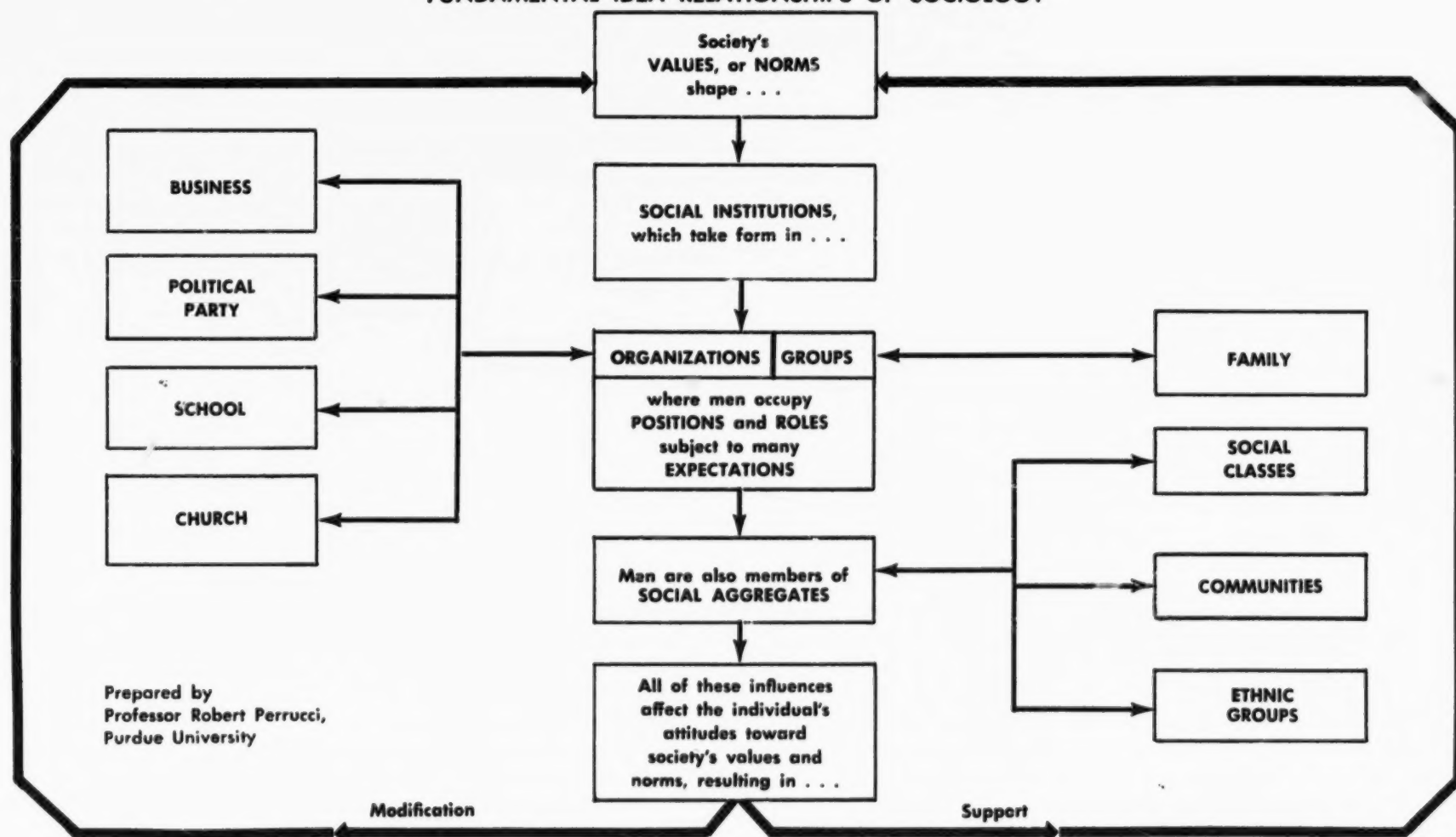
These two types of reaction of the individual to the social forces acting on him are represented by the two feedback loops in the diagram. The stability of the social system, and the speed and nature of social changes, depend upon the strength and content of these two conflicting forces.

Curriculum Applications

The SSEC curriculum work group at Purdue takes the position that it is *possible* to introduce with integrity the basic concepts and relationships of sociology very early in the school curriculum, and to build upon these concepts and relationships in later years. In the Purdue project, an overall curriculum pattern for grades K-6 is being constructed, using fundamental ideas from sociology as well as economics, political science, anthropology, geography and history.

The life of very young children is already rich with ex-

FUNDAMENTAL IDEA RELATIONSHIPS OF SOCIOLOGY



periences relevant to sociology. The first-grader is aware of the norms which express the dominant values of his classmates—what is expected in the way of dress, friendship, sharing, competitiveness, cooperation with peers, cooperation with persons in authority, and so on. He is also aware of the norms and expectations that originate with other groupings—the norms and expectations of teachers, principals, parents, Sunday-school teachers, younger children, and older children. The first-grader is also aware of his own desires or values, and feels the tensions and conflict that arise because some of his own values are not the same as those of his classmates, his teacher, his peers in the neighborhood, and older children in the neighborhood.

Young children are also aware of the positions and roles that they and other people assume. They may be surprised the first time they discover that the person whom they think of as a teacher is also a wife and mother, but they soon assimilate knowledge of such multiple roles. They also discover, when their teacher is ill and a substitute takes her place, or when a new principal comes to the school, that different people may fill the same position in very different ways. They also undergo experiences themselves in assuming positions and roles—as informal leaders or followers on the playground, as formally elected officers of school clubs, and as older brother or kid sister at home.

The basic concepts of individual values, social norms, positions, roles, groups and organizations can be illustrated by references to these familiar experiences of the child, using sociodramas and stories, and materials from other times and other cultures. The concepts, and the relationships among them, can be broadened and enriched as they are incorporated in curricula at higher grade levels.

One of the most important relationships in sociology, and one that can be introduced at any place in the curriculum beginning with the earliest years, is the relationship between predictable behavior and social norms and insti-

tutions. Much of human behavior is predictable, and the predictability depends on the willingness of individuals to accept, or at least acquiesce in, the prevailing social values and norms. The children's own experiences can be used to illustrate the prevalence of predictable behavior in meeting school schedules, completing assignments, scheduling doctor's appointments, and in many other ways. The tremendous importance of predictable behavior in society can be illustrated dramatically by acting out situations in which common expectations are not fulfilled: What would happen if the janitor did not arrange to heat the building on a cold winter morning? What would happen if a teacher showed displeasure whenever a student did good work?

The reasons for the prevalence of predictable behavior can be found by applying the basic concepts and relationships of sociology which have been illustrated here, as can the reasons for, and processes of, change. The struggle between the values of different groups can be illustrated by the class or school committee that wants to change the (predictable, but to them deplorable) behavior of children who throw candy wrappers in the hallways, or of cliques who monopolize playground equipment or class offices. At a more sophisticated level, historical conditions of stability and processes of change in our neighborhoods, cities, states and nation can be analyzed, as well as stability and change in other societies.

The basic ideas of sociology explained and illustrated here can be used in the social studies curriculum at all levels, either as the basis for independent units or to supplement and enrich the student's understanding of history, geography and the other social sciences. In either case, they can be used to enhance his ability to undertake theoretical analysis and solve practical problems, and to make him a more intelligent citizen of the complex society in which he will grow up.

OTHER SSEC PROJECTS

University of Michigan Curriculum Project

The five-man core staff has completed a series of sixteen intensive sessions, each with two or three experts from the social sciences and education. Starting with little structure and few preconceptions, the overall purpose was to identify content, structure and methods for a new pattern of social science for the high school.

The major emphasis of the program is on the behavioral sciences, centering on general psychology, social psychology and micro-sociology, but including also some of the behavioral aspects of economics and political science. Some of the individual sessions dealt with whole disciplines (social psychology, sociology, economics, etc.), some with particular topics such as organizations, the school, the family, cognition, teaching and learning, small groups, and problems and strategies of building new curricula.

The agenda for investigation, muted in the intensive sessions but explicit in the analysis of the sessions now under way, includes both subject matter and methods of constructing curricula with the subject matter. Some of the guidelines for analysis of the subject matter are: What are the data? What are the important concepts? What are the conceptual systems? What are the theories and models? What is the scientific mode—specific to general, or general to specific? What values are involved? What are the effects on society and the individual? Can individuals or groups influence the outcome?

The many dimensions of constructing curricula were a secondary emphasis and included, with respect to each of the subjects of inquiry, the major purposes, teaching methods and procedures, teacher abilities and training, student abilities and needs, course organization and sequence, the feasibility of integrating disciplines, relationships among courses, and texts, manuals and other resource materials.

The members of the project team are Ronald Lippitt, psychologist and sociologist; Milan Marich, Jr., chairman of a high school social studies department; William Nimroth, coordinator of social studies for the Ann Arbor, Michigan, public schools; Charles Jung, educational psychologist; and Mark Chesler, social psychologist.

The Michigan group will meet with the Purdue curriculum project members in the fall, to compare the result arrived at independently by these groups concerning content, methods, and curriculum structure. In the late fall, the first phase of the University of Michigan project will be completed, with several suggested general curriculum patterns for high school, supported by a series of reports on subject matter and curriculum approaches as reported above. The raw materials for these reports, now being shaped by the project team, have been described by one observer as "tremendously rich and exciting."

Values in the Social Studies

This project, directed by Michael Scriven of Indiana University, will complete four reports during the summer and fall. The four reports make a progressive, integrated series, beginning with the philosophy of ethics and ending with practical classroom guides.

The first report is a position paper on the foundations of ethics and the methodological basis for value judgments in social relations. Extensive critiques of a 150-page draft have been made by several moral philosophers with particular interests in the behavioral sciences, and the final version of the paper is nearing completion. The central theme of the paper is the rational basis for moral behavior,

which is found in a 'game theory' approach to the problems of social living.

The second report is a position paper on the role of values in the social sciences. It argues that the most important distinction, for purposes of both analysis and teaching, is *not* between value judgments and factual assertions, but between value judgments that are entirely rational and objective and those that are mere expressions of personal taste. It is argued further that most value judgments are of the first group: rational and objective. The development of this paper has been materially assisted by a series of discussions with persons responsible for the University of Pittsburgh-IBM project on values in the contemporary society.

The third report is a survey of the methods now being used to teach values and to measure values held by children, based on an analysis of social studies texts and methods courses. The most important finding is that the measuring instruments, texts and courses almost completely ignore the cognitive approach to values: they typically imply or assert that propositions concerning values are not arguable. As a consequence, they typically ignore that majority of moral problems in which sound rational reasons can be given for value judgments.

The fourth and final report is a handbook for teachers and curriculum designers on methods for handling values in the curriculum and in the classroom, which is being done in cooperation with specialists at Indiana University who have worked on materials and institutes for teachers on 'Teaching About Communism,' and with Donald Oliver's Project Social Studies at Harvard. It is shown that a rational approach to the solution of moral problems often requires the ability to analyze complex situations. Hence an important part of the report is devoted to an exposition of the analytical tools required for clear thinking about value-laden materials.

Evaluation

A 60-page draft on "The Methodology of Evaluation" by Michael Scriven examines the views of Lee Cronbach and others on the need for, and practicality of, the use of control groups in evaluation; makes some revisions and extensions of Bloom's criteria for cognitive and affective learning; and develops some new suggestions for curriculum evaluation. The paper makes a strong argument for 'summative evaluation' of curriculum materials—that is, evaluation from the standpoint of teachers and administrators who must select curriculum materials—as well as the 'formative evaluation' that takes place during the development and initial trials of every good curriculum project.

The paper provided the theme for a two-day seminar at the University of Illinois in June, at which Professor Cronbach and other experts commented on the paper. The seminar concluded a two-week conference on evaluation techniques sponsored by the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE) and supported in part by the Consortium. Final revision of the paper is in progress.

Child Development

This project, directed by Irving Sigel of the Merrill-Palmer Institute, is concerned with what knowledge is available that is relevant to social science curricula and teaching, the extent to which the available knowledge is being used, and ways of improving that knowledge. A review and analysis of the selected literature and materials, nearing completion, shows that there are great gaps in our knowledge about children's apprehension of social reali-

ties. Partial findings indicate that the lack of knowledge appears to be less serious with respect to moral systems and political concepts, more so with respect to economics and anthropology. Available texts suffer both from this lack of knowledge and from lack of application of the knowledge that does exist.

A second report deals with children's ability to understand social science concepts. It is concerned, first, with where new concepts can be introduced, given the prevailing curricula to which children are now exposed, particularly in the elementary grades. Second, it is concerned with new strategies for dealing with complex phenomena. Children are limited in the number of ideas they can hold to and manipulate at one time. A promising teaching strategy being developed in the project is to establish in the child's mind the idea that every object or situation has many attributes, all of which exist continuously, and then to move to the idea that one or two of these attributes can be selected for consideration with respect to a particular problem.

Social scientists and developmental psychologists from Wayne State, Purdue and Cornell Universities worked with the Merrill-Palmer group to develop concepts and the framework for the investigation. Teachers from all grade levels in the Birmingham, Michigan, schools have assisted by discussing, trying out and reporting on the experimental concepts and strategies.

Survey of Social Science Teachers and Teaching

Following pilot interviews in five school systems in the spring, preliminary schedules for determining the practices and content in current social studies teaching are being revised and tested during the summer. A report recommending detailed procedures for a broader survey will be ready in the fall, including results of the pilot interviews. The project is supervised by Wilbur Brookover, director of the Social Science Teaching Institute at Michigan State University.

Some very preliminary results indicate that the titles of high school courses in the social studies field give little indication of their content, and that elementary teachers are teaching much of the subject matter of the social studies without calling it that. The content in the elementary grades leans heavily toward behavioral and attitudinal, not analytical, goals. The quality of the content varies greatly, with some teachers bringing a solid knowledge of one or more social sciences to bear on the courses they teach.

NEWS FROM THE DIRECTOR

In recent weeks, the Director's travels have taken him to the following institutions and projects.

University of Chicago SSEC project on classroom methods in the social sciences, directed by Herbert Thelen with the assistance of Keith Elkins and others. At the beginning of the fourth experiment of a series, a seventh grade class was beginning a unit in which they were to analyze differences in the origin and nature of social reform measures in the United States before and after 1930. The experiments are designed to measure the impact on students' effectiveness and motivation of alternative methods of presenting a problem, such as documents versus lectures, and alternative methods of organizing an attack on the problem, such as individual work versus small-group discussion versus class discussion. In the fourth experiment, the researchers were using for the first time an electrical recording system to measure students' responses to sugges-

tions made by other students and by the teacher concerning ways of organizing factual material related to the problem presented.

Foreign Relations Project of the North Central Association. While continuing their emphasis on seminars and the production of materials on democracy, totalitarianism and world order, Director James Becker, Assistant Director Howard Mehlinger and their staff serve as advisors to a number of schools and school systems on problems of change in the social studies. An old-timer among social science projects, the NCA Foreign Relations Project has published a Ten-Year report on its activities, titled "The Dynamics of Change."

Northwestern University Social Studies Curriculum Center. Among other activities, Director John Lee and his staff are developing a variety of experiments and materials using simulation. The SSEC Director was privileged to observe an all-day run of Harold Guetzkow's Inter-Nation Simulation, at Maine South High School, Park Ridge, Illinois, in which a teaching model developed by Guetzkow and Cleo Cherryholmes was used. In the largest experiment of its kind to date, 125 ninth to twelfth graders simulating 25 "nations" produced, consumed, saved, invested, and built armaments and defenses; they exchanged trade, aid, promises, information, misinformation, and threats. It is unlikely that such a large group of students has ever been more deeply and intensely involved in an educational project. When war broke out about 2:30 in the afternoon, the dismay, confusion, recriminations and excuses that were aired in the International Organization had the flavor not of the play-acting of a Model United Nations but of real people caught in a desperate web of circumstances.

University of Illinois Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE), directed by Professor J. Thomas Hastings. CIRCE has brought together in weekly seminars during the past year some forty University of Illinois staff members engaged in a wide range of educational problems. The SSEC Director attended one of these weekly meetings, at which the relationships of CIRCE to other curriculum efforts on and off the Illinois campus, including SSEC, were discussed. The SSEC Director also attended the final session of a two-week workshop of evaluation specialists affiliated with course-content-improvement projects from across the country. The theme of the workshop, which was partially supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the SSEC, was The Evaluation of Cross-Curricular Objectives. The objectives examined by the workshop included the ability to generate models, understanding the concept of equilibrium, and skill in problem solving. The final three days of the workshop were devoted to a seminar on The Theoretical Framework of Curriculum Evaluation, concerned with the merits of alternative kinds of evaluation and the responsibilities for undertaking them. The distinction between evaluation for developing materials and evaluation for selecting among finished materials was stressed, and opposing views on these matters were presented and partially resolved by Professors Lee Cronbach of Stanford University and Michael Scriven of Indiana University. Those views have been set forth by Cronbach in "Evaluation for Course Improvement," reprinted in Robert Heath, ed., *New Curricula* (Harper and Row, 1964) and by Scriven in a forthcoming paper written for the SSEC Evaluation Project.

University of Illinois Project Social Studies, directed by Dr. Ella Leppert. Seventh-grade materials on the political

system are being tested currently in the University Laboratory School, with emphasis on simulated problems in which the children must make decisions and observe the processes and consequences of decision-making. There has been close cooperation with the Illinois Inquiry Project, started some years ago by Dr. Richard Suchman and directed most recently by Mrs. Sybil Carlson. The SSEC Director witnessed a trial of some of Dr. Leppert's materials on "PLATO", the computer-controlled teaching system developed by the University's Coordinated Science Laboratory. PLATO receives communications from students through their individual keyboards, and communicates with them by individual TV screens. It can present programmed materials, give specified information at the request of student or teacher, and present test items to students with immediate feedback to students and summarized results to the teacher. In all of these processes, PLATO can accumulate information about speed and errors of students, as a basis for analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of the computer-controlled materials.

Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, sponsored by the American Anthropological Association and directed by Dr. Malcolm Collier. Among the recently-established social science projects, this is one of the most advanced in the production of materials ready or soon-to-be-ready for classroom use. A newsletter is available upon request to the project office at 5632 South Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637. The Spring 1965 number summarizes materials in preparation, materials in experimental use, and materials available for general distribution.

Washington University's Metropolitan Social Studies Center, directed by Professor Judson Shaplin. The purpose of the project is to provide a central research and coordinating center for the St. Louis area, and to engage in development, demonstration, evaluation, dissemination and training activities related to local and national curriculum improvement programs in the social studies. Under the immediate direction of Dr. Harold Berlak, one of the best collections of new social-science curriculum materials in the country has been assembled, a methodology for assessing materials from the standpoint of decision-making school personnel is being developed, and teacher training is beginning with an institute this summer.

Webster College, where Dr. Carl Pitts is developing a social science course for fifth-graders in the College's new Laboratory School. Under Sister Jacqueline's leadership, the College has embarked on a number of educational innovations at all levels, stressing experimental, laboratory-like approaches. Experiments in social learning, in which many future teachers are engaged, are under way in a pre-school group and in a local mental institution.

The Director also gave talks and discussed the purposes and activities of the Consortium at a meeting of social scientists and educators arranged by Will Engeland, Professor of Social Studies at Indiana State University, and at a summer institute on social studies directed by Dr. Carol Kahler at St. Louis University.

Copies of this and subsequent newsletters are available upon request to:

Irving Morrisett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Up to ten copies may be sent to a single addressee without charge. Larger bulk orders will be filled at ten cents a copy, payable to Purdue University.

PROJECT SOCIAL STUDIES

Social Education has performed a major service by devoting a large part of its April 1965 issue to an up-to-date account of the work that has been funded under the U. S. Office of Education's Project Social Studies. Edwin Fenton and John M. Good, co-directors of the Project Social Studies at Carnegie Tech, assembled individual reports of the twelve projects and also provide an excellent summary and commentary. *Social Education* has tentatively scheduled its October issue for critiques of the reports.

The summary report by Fenton and Good is optimistic and encouraging, befitting this early stage of the work. For the sake of planning and progress in the years immediately ahead, however, it may not be amiss to take a peek below the surface of this optimism.

Warranted Optimism

First let us review briefly those aspects of the projects for which optimism seems most warranted. (1) The projects generally reflect, in their leadership and other personnel, a new spirit of cooperation among scholars from the various social science disciplines, members of schools and departments of education, and classroom teachers. (2) Emphasis on the content and structure of the academic disciplines, following Bruner, though not present in all projects, is frequent enough to give this promising hypothesis a fair trial. (3) Methods of induction and inquiry are also built into enough projects to give this general approach a good trial. (4) A variety of new kinds of materials for teachers and students, eschewing for the most part traditional textbooks, is promised by most of the projects.

Unwarranted Optimism

One can be less sanguine about the other generalizations made by Fenton and Good. For example, "The latest findings both in subject fields and in cognitive processes have been incorporated into the work of the Centers." Perhaps one can take it on faith that the cutting edge of new knowledge will be incorporated in the new curricula, because of the presence of competent scholars in the projects, but it would be more reassuring if the project descriptions contained a ringing rejection of the common assumption that yesterday's watered-down content is good enough for elementary and secondary education. The case for incorporation of the latest knowledge about cognitive processes is even less convincing. Educational psychologists are generally concerned with method rather than content, psychologists other than educational psychologists have not in general been recruited to the new curriculum reform movement, and child development psychologists in particular still need to be introduced to elementary curriculum specialists. Assurances are needed that the necessary introductions among these groups are taking place.

The statement that "Each of the HEW projects makes an effort to build each course securely upon what students already know" is also overly optimistic. Only a few of the project reports describe feasible plans, or any plans, for sequencing of materials, and the sequencing that does exist is entirely within the particular project. Otherwise, all of the materials are being designed to "stand on their own feet," that is, to ignore previous learning; and even some of the materials within projects are being designed for use independently of the other materials. This is not a fault of the individual projects, which must look to the practical aspects of preparing materials that can be

adopted on a piecemeal basis; but it points to a problem that must soon be met if the burgeoning curriculum reform in social studies is to make cumulative progress, in which one project can build on the work of another.

Inadequate Communication

A shortcoming of the project activities to date, as Fenton and Good point out, is that "None of the material produced by the HEW Centers is yet available to the schools," and this is attributed to the fact that the government has not established a publication policy. For projects that have been in operation for two years or less, it is neither alarming nor surprising that finished materials are not available. What is shocking is the general lack of exchange and availability of working papers and other interim results. At least six of the projects have put substantial resources into summarizing the basic concepts and structure of one or (usually) more social sciences, in a form suitable for guiding curriculum efforts, but apparently there has been no exchange of information on these efforts among the project; nor are these documents (which presumably would contain no trade secrets) generally available to others working in social science education.

Big Problems Ahead

While they are supportive and optimistic on current operations of the social studies projects, Fenton and Good point out problems that will soon loom large. "Once new materials are available for use in the schools, we will face several fresh problems," they say. One can quarrel only with their implication that we can wait until the new materials are available before we begin to think about solving the gigantic problems to which they point:

First, how can teachers and school administrators choose intelligently among the flood of new approaches coming from publishers' presses? Second, how can we incorporate the work of the best of the projects into an integrated and sequential curriculum when the directors of these projects may have begun from quite different premises without exact knowledge of what one another was doing? Third, how can we re-educate our present generation of teachers to handle new materials in new ways? Finally, how can we change pre-service education to prepare the next generation of teachers for the challenges of the new social studies?

To this formidable agenda should be added one more problem, closely related to their first. How can evaluation procedures be extended beyond the role of internal feedback which they now typically play, so that teachers, school administrators, and others concerned with the final product will have a basis for judging the merits of curriculum projects in a number of relevant dimensions, such as achievement in terms of content and analytical skills and behavior, and costs in terms of materials and in-service training resources and pre-service training resources?

The social studies projects financed by the Office of Education and other public and private agencies have made a good beginning in recruiting new, talented and creative persons for a much-needed revolution in social science education. So far, there is no assurance that the resources will be available, and properly distributed, to consolidate these gains—to see that gaps in subject matter and grade level are filled, to assist teachers and school administrators to sequence and select materials, to inspire and support the extensive changes in pre-service and in-service training that will soon be needed.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The first in a series of SSEC reprints has been published: "Social Science Education: A Curriculum Frontier," by Patricia Shumuck, John E. Lohman, Ronald Lippitt and Robert Fox, reprinted from *Educational Leadership*, February 1965. Single copies are available from the SSEC Central Office on request; bulk orders are at the rate of 20 cents per copy.

New Frontiers in the Social Studies, a recent monograph by John S. Gibson of the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, is an extremely useful compendium of current problems, activities and resources in social science education. General guides to the construction of modern social science curricula are developed (pp. 16-34), including matters of unification of social sciences, realism, case studies, and "the courage to exclude." Questions concerning what content from the social sciences should be used, and where, are discussed briefly (pp. 28-32), and what is being done in new curriculum projects is described at length (pp. 50-72). The objectives and progress of new curriculum projects as of early 1965 are summarized (pp. 36-40, 101-08), with proper credit to the compilations made by Professor John Michaelis. Some very pertinent and difficult questions concerning the new curriculum work are raised (pp. 41-44). Among these are questions concerning transfer of successful experiences from one school system to another, curriculum balance, teacher training in new curricula, communication among curriculum developers, and evaluation. Problems of pedagogy, materials and research are also treated, and most of the pertinent recent literature is cited. The monograph is available at The Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts 02155, for \$1.00.

American Education is a new publication of the U. S. Office of education, replacing *School Life* and *Higher Education*. The new journal will view education as "all of a piece, undivided and unfragmented," as editor Theodora Carlson explains in Vol. 1, No. 1 (December 1964-January 1965); and it will be directed less to professional educators, more to the general public, than the two publications which it replaces. (Subscriptions are \$3 a year for 10 issues, from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402.)

The February, 1965 issue of *American Education* contains an article on new trends in geography and geography education by Gilbert F. White, Professor of Geography at the University of Chicago and chairman of the Steering Committee of the High School Geography Project.

Modern geography emphasizes the understanding of regularities in distribution of "the main elements in the landscape—the landforms, climate, vegetation, and soils, and the towns, crops, roads and other works of man," Professor White explains. What are the natural and social reasons for the location of these elements? How are these elements systematically related to each other? How and why can they be expected to change in the future? By addressing themselves to questions such as these, teachers and students can raise geography from a dull exercise in memory to a fascinating exploration in scientific exploration and discovery.

Three examples are used by Professor White to illus-

trate some of the new analytical methods used by geographers, and the challenging of some old generalizations. The examples are: Studies of the densities of city populations (density patterns, between cities and over time, differ systematically in Asian cities, as compared with Western cities); studies of the distribution of water on land surfaces (an elementary charting device simplifies the analysis of water-acquisition and water-disposition); and studies of the practice of shifting cultivation (this apparently resource-wasting practice may contain more folk wisdom than previously thought).

The new emphases in geography do not denigrate memory—what science can?—but greatly augment the role of analysis, and of observation of both facts and processes. It is generally conceded that the natural sciences are ahead of the social sciences in analysis and systematic observation; perhaps geography, incorporating more of the natural sciences than do most of the other social sciences, can play a strategic role in advancing the scientific underpinnings of the social sciences.

The *Newsletter* of the High School Geography Project can be obtained upon request to Dr. Nicholas Helburn, Director, High School Geography Project, Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana 59715.

The nation's largest school system is in the middle of a major revision of its entire social studies program. New York City began the groundwork for this revision in 1962, with a substantial commitment of its own personnel from all school levels and with the help of college and university consultants. Two years' work culminated in a comprehensive position paper, "Proposals for a K-12 Curriculum in History and the Social Sciences," published in the fall of 1964, which has served as the basis for a year of intensive work to develop courses which will undergo trial and re-

vision during 1965-66 and 1966-67. The program follows many of the new university-based curriculum projects in stressing the fundamental ideas and structures of the social sciences, and methods of inquiry and discovery. It is also developing extensive materials on civil rights and civil liberties. The position paper is available for fifty cents from the Board of Education of the City of New York, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201.

A COMFORTING THOUGHT

To many teachers and school administrators, the swelling tide of activity that is creating new curriculum patterns and materials in the social studies is alarming. For teachers, it poses the threat of vast quantities of new materials and new subject matter to be mastered, only to be discarded later to accommodate a newer and bigger wave. For administrators, it threatens with increasingly clamorous and conflicting claims for the teachers' time, for the schools' materials budgets, and for in-service training of unmanageable proportions.

In *Science* of 4 December 1964, the eminent biologist Albert Szent-Györgyi offers some comforting thoughts about learning in an age when knowledge is advancing at a dizzy pace. "Any attempt to harmonize teaching with exploding knowledge would be hopeless," he says, "should growth not entail simplification. . . . Nature must be much simpler than she looks to us. . . . To the degree to which our methods become less clumsy and more adequate . . . things must become not only clearer, but very much simpler, too. Science tends to generalize, and generalization means simplification."

Do these comforting thoughts from a natural scientist apply also to the social sciences? One can infer from the emphasis on generalizations and the structure of knowledge in most of the new projects, and from the de-emphasis (not elimination) of mere facts, that most social scientists think so.

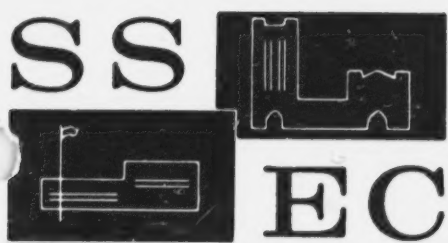


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VALUES IN THE CURRICULUM

By Michael Scriven
Indiana University

Professor Scriven is director of the SSEC's work on values in the curriculum, and has written three basic papers in this capacity, which are described elsewhere in this newsletter. This article is a slightly revised version of a talk given by Professor Scriven at a Consortium conference on January 29-30 at Purdue University. The published record of the conference, titled "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula," is described elsewhere in this newsletter and is available from the SSEC.—Editor

Two points are vital to the whole question of dealing with values in the curriculum, and both of them are almost completely at odds with common views about this problem. The first point is that the vast majority of value disputes are capable of settlement by rational arguments. The common slogan that "one person's values are as good as another's" is usually false and is usually an indication of insufficient training in empirical investigation or logical analysis.

The second point is that the analysis and resolution of value disputes is one of the most difficult intellectual problems that we ever put in front of the child in the course of the entire curriculum. A tremendous job lies ahead of us in developing methods and materials to teach teachers and children how to deal with this complex matter.

The Place of Ultimate Values

In disputes about what is "right," what is "better," and what "ought" to be done, the discussion frequently ends with the disputants in disagreement about the issue, but in agreement that the argument cannot be carried further. A common conclusion is that "You can't dispute basic values." Let us use the common term "ultimate values" to refer to these values that are unarguable, in the sense that no further facts or logic can be mustered to show whether they are sound or unsound.

It is possible that there is no such thing as an ultimate value. One of the best philosophers in the country once said that he had never, in the course of any debate on any moral issue, found a disputant who could not be shown, at every point, to be appealing to yet further considerations of fact or logic. The stopping-point of value-disputes, then, is very often a point of disagreement about a complex matter of fact, such as the actual effects of pornography on grade schoolers, and not a dispute about ultimate values at all.

The question of whether ultimate values *exist* is not very important, however, if it is true, as the author believes, that *the great majority* of value disputes can be settled by empirical investigation and logical analysis. The educational task is to push back the frontiers of analysis as far as possible, not to worry about whether there is a last frontier. There is an interesting analogy in the physical sciences. The status of determinism need not be settled before we agree that the right approach is to seek for causes of all phenomena with all our effort.

Education About Values vs. Indoctrination in Values

It follows from what has been said that most training of children in the realm of value disputes should have the purpose of helping them to become more skillful in clarifying issues, in verifying facts on which they believe their value judgments rest, in analyzing the soundness of the logic by which one value is based on another, and in examining the logical consistency among their values. This enormous task will keep us all busy for a long time to come, without bringing us to insoluble problems involving ultimate values. And one can only deny that this is the approach we should be taking by showing that ultimate values are encountered early rather than late in the process of tracing back the logical underpinning of everyday value disputes.

Let us take the hypothetical example of a sixth grade class discussing a particular issue about freedom of speech. Assume that, in the midst of an explosive social situation, the making of a scheduled political speech by a member of the opposition would involve a large risk of rioting and loss of life. Should the authorities prevent the speech?

A common approach, in the rare cases where this kind of material is discussed at all, is to earnestly ask the class what they think should be done. Should the sixth-graders' views on this subject be regarded as important, interesting, valid? No, no more than their views on the merits of Freudian psychology or the quantum theory. Can the teacher tell the children what the right answer is? Probably not, since her views may have no better factual and analytical basis than those of the children.

One way to begin to analyze the practical problem mentioned, where the value of life has to be weighed against the value of free speech, is to imagine what it would be like to abandon one of these values. If, for example, we abandoned freedom of speech as a value, what new institutions or system of rules would be required or possible to ensure a well-informed populace? What would be the logical consequences, for other values in our system, of abandoning the right to speak when speaking threatens life, limb, or property? What facts would be needed to assess the consequences of the change? How would it be decided whether to ban the speech? What redress for wrong decisions would exist?

The educational process suggested here has nothing to do with indoctrination in its usual sense of an effort

to instill particular values or viewpoints other than by rational proof. In some contexts, indeed, indoctrination is taken to mean the instilling of particular values *plus* a resistance to rational examination of those values; sound educational policy must explicitly condemn indoctrination in that sense.

A third and perverse definition of indoctrination is sometimes encountered, according to which *any* process that affects the values held by individuals is indoctrination. By the first definition, indoctrination is nonscientific, which does not necessarily make it a bad thing. By the second definition, indoctrination is anti-rational, and therefore a bad thing for those who value rationality, as educators must. By the third definition, indoctrination is neutral with regard to rationality and morality, which may or may not be flouted by such indoctrination. Unfortunately, the term is all too often used without analysis, as a pejorative term to discourage the application of scientific methods to the study of values, and it then becomes a tool for irrational and immoral ends. Such use is irrational because it denies the use of rational methods to problems for which they are appropriate. It is immoral because it stands in the way of moral progress.

Our goal should be the straightforward development of cognitive skills for handling value disputes—not persuasion or indoctrination in the usual sense. Moral reasoning and the moral behavior it indicates should be taught and taught about, if for no other reason than that it is immoral to keep students ignorant of the empirical and logical bases behind the morality which is behind the law and the institutions which incorporate this country's virtues and permit its vices. But in addition to this intellectual payoff is the practical benefit to a society of possessing members who are skilled in making value judgments. Such a society becomes a moral community, offering important benefits to all of its members.

Values in the Curriculum

Values in the curriculum should not be a wholly separate subject, but should have the status of a pervasive substructure, like critical thinking and clear expression. Value analysis work should begin in kindergarten and continue, with problems of increasing complexity, through high school. We can begin at what may be called the level of practicality in value analysis—the evaluation of products. Then, we might go on to the area of personal problems where questions arise about behavior that is wise or foolish, sensible or not. We can talk about good and bad behavior, meaning, at this “prudence level,” good or bad for you. We can then progress to the area of social problems—morality in law and politics—and finally to the level of international problems, where we come to the root question of whether or not international conflict is a domain for morality, a domain where moral judgments other than prudential ones can be given sense or made to stick.

Such a sequence suggests itself naturally, and presents many advantages. Even at the early level of the evaluation of consumer goods, there are rather sophisticated procedures and distinctions which will carry throughout the rest of the curriculum. But at that early stage, the basic moral problems do not yet need to be faced. As the student grows older and the subjects more complex, more practical ethical problems are introduced, in the course of teaching other things.

A Basis for a Moral System

As teachers and students push the logical analysis of values farther and farther, the question of ultimate values will arise more and more insistently and, eventually, perhaps even legitimately. If an ultimate value must be found, the best candidate for the position is “equality of rights.” This is a value to which our schools and our nation are already politically committed, and thus has the great potential advantage of being reinforced by the prevailing mores. It is not open to criticism on the ground that appeal to it in the public schools violates the separation of church and state. Equally important, “equality of rights” is a value upon which a whole system of morality can be built, a complete rational system based on this single premise.

There is not time here to spell out the moral system that can be based on equality of rights, but one can say that it is a system very like the humanist tradition of this country, as well as much of the Christian and Buddhist traditions. Neither is there time to describe the full meaning of equality of rights, although it is essentially embodied in the provisions of our constitution and our laws on voting and due process. While there is no objection to giving “equality of rights” the temporary status of an ultimate value, a strong argument can be made for supporting this value on rational grounds, by appeal to probability, game theory and welfare considerations. As indicated earlier, it is still an open question whether any values are needed that go beyond that which is supportable by rational appeal to logical analysis.

Techniques

There are two dimensions to teaching how to handle values: the cognitive and the affective. We have been discussing mainly the cognitive side of values. In cognitive training, the methodology is that of the logician and the lawyer. In the analysis of legal systems, such questions arise as, What would be the conflicts if everyone followed this rule? What exceptions can be justified for this rule? and, What cases are subsumed under this general principle? Still other questions, the answers to which require factual materials from the social sciences, are, What would be the consequences of breaking this rule? What alternative rules might serve the same function? What is the significance of a particular custom to those who support it?

But there needs to be moral motivation as well as moral insight, which brings us to the affective side. The basic motivational training for a moral system based on equality of rights is closely connected with the training needed for understanding the positions and motives of other people. It requires seeing yourself in the other person's shoes and fostering of empathy and sympathy. Role-playing is appropriate in a great variety of historical, political and social situations. It encourages full use of materials available to support the role, and requires an active effort to understand the position of the person whose role is assumed; it is an excellent way to promote sympathy, and hence to promote moral behavior under the axiom of equal rights. Other techniques that will help to put the student into another's position are the use of graphic audio-visual materials, field experience, interviews and discussions.

Materials

With few exceptions, there should be no separate materials for value-training, just as there should be no separate subject matter. For the most part, materials should be multi-purpose. Some examples follow.

In elementary science, students could begin early to evaluate the relative merits of instruments. They could, for example, construct their own balances, and discuss with each other the relative merits of criteria of sensitivity, capacity, cost and ease of use.

Another example is the use of materials from American constitutional law. Constitutional law embodies much of the nation's moral code. It represents an attempt to create a just or moral society, and its legal aspects give good training in the study of moral analysis. Since constitutional law also reflects much of a nation's history, it provides for moral analysis an ideal entree to the schools' history offerings.

Conclusion

We need an approach to values in the curriculum which is pedagogically more explicit than at present, but not necessarily handled explicitly in a separate part of the curriculum. We should train students to assess alternative arguments about values in a consistent and intelligent way, and to push the rational analysis of values as far back as they can. Seldom if ever should a discussion of values end with the conclusion that the view of the student—or of the teacher—is as good as anyone else's. A value judgment is as good as the reasons for it, and as weak as the reasons that support alternative views.

ON COMMUNICATION

The Consortium has encouraged curriculum projects to distribute more quickly and more widely the results of their efforts; not just finished materials, but working papers and internal documents that might be useful to other projects and other curriculum workers.

In line with this effort, the Consortium is making widely available all of the reports it has completed to date, as described in the article below. None of the reports contain classroom materials. All are "intermediate products," which should be useful to persons who are working on the design, development and implementation of new curricula, or who want to understand more about these new efforts.

The papers are uneven in their depth of sophistication, and in degree of polish. We hope that the descriptions given will indicate which papers will be useful to which readers.

REPORTS AVAILABLE ON SSEC ACTIVITIES

A number of papers on the activities of the Social Science Education Consortium are now available for general distribution. These papers are taken from recent reports of the Consortium to the U. S. Office of Education. They are mimeographed (except as noted), individually bound, with attractive heavy paper covers. Descriptions of the papers follow.

Please address orders for papers to:

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Content for Social Science Education

Sociology, by Robert Perrucci, Purdue University. #101. 34 pages. \$.70.

This paper is an elaboration of the article by Professor Perrucci which appeared in the July 1965 Consortium newsletter. It states that the task of the sociologist is to seek understanding of society through the examination of its structures, patterns, functions and processes. The author presents a model that conceptualizes the elements of the structure of society, the values, norms and beliefs, institutions, groups, social positions and roles; and he demonstrates the central importance of the first of these concepts, values. The values that pervade a society determine its characteristics. Values are the things in which people invest emotional interest. From values, norms and beliefs are created. The integration of norms produces institutions; for example, the family. Groups and organizations constitute a structuring of individual interactions. The individuals who hold membership in groups and organizations have roles to play and fill societally determined positions. These positions and roles allow predictability through expectations. However, structure does not show what society does. The functions of society give us this insight. Functions are carried out through the institutions and the interaction of those institutions. But society is not static. It undergoes change and the processes of society are carried out through competition, conflict, cooperation and accommodation.

The Structure of Geography, by Peter Greco, Syracuse University. #102. 26 pages. \$.60.

A structured, schematic approach to geography is presented, with examples to illustrate the main ideas. Geography is not defined by subject matter, the author says, but by its method, the way it looks at things. The explanation of areal differentiation is the quest of the geographer, and space is his principal concern. In his study of areal differentiations, the geographer is concerned with the interconnections between sets of characteristics or facts—physical, biotic and societal facts—which characterize specific places at specific times. His purpose is to locate geographic facts as they are assembled as sets in earth space and in time. Through comparison he then explains how such geographic distributions are formally interrelated by areal association constituted by formal regions of similar features, or functionally interrelated by patterns of circulation. Geographers derive their conclusions from first-hand and second-hand knowledge, using mapping, photo-interpretation, fieldwork, statistical techniques, and expository reports. The geographer, complementing the historian, interrelates all human knowledge, including economic, social and political knowledge, as well as much knowledge of the physical world. A one-page schematic diagram of the major concepts of geography and their interrelations is included in the report.

The Political System, by David Collier, with the guidance and supervision of David Easton, University of Chicago. #103. 13 pages. \$.35.

This paper suggests a systematic theory of politics for use in elementary and secondary school curricula, relying on recent findings that children begin learning about politics very early. It follows closely, but at a simplified level, the theoretical structure of David Easton's work. The theory: Politics settles differences that cannot be resolved through private means; it is the authoritative allocation of valued things for the society. Two major "inputs" are discussed—*demands*, which are converted by the political system into binding decisions, or "outputs," and *support* for the political community (the nation-state) and the regime (consisting of values, norms, and the structure of authority). The central concept is "feedback"—the response to inputs, which include previous outputs. Feedback makes the system self-regulating and persistent; that is, it maintains order as long as society persists, and helps prolong the life of society. Thus the framework is dynamic, not only permitting change but showing how it occurs and how it works itself out in the system. A one-page schematic diagram of the major concepts of political science and their interrelations is included in the report.

A Systems Approach to Political Life, by David Easton, University of Chicago. #104. 22 pages. \$.50.

This paper follows closely the theoretical work of Professor Easton, as presented in *The Political System* (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1953), *A Framework for Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1965), and *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1965). It presents the same basic framework as the paper by David Collier, described above, in a slightly more elaborate and technical fashion.

Economics, by Lawrence Senesh, Purdue University. #105. 16 pages. \$.40.

The author argues for both the feasibility and desirability of teaching economic principles beginning in the elementary grades. Eight fundamental ideas of economics are presented, and they can be summarized briefly. Because of the basic conflict (among both individuals and nations) between unlimited wants and limited resources, a system of divided labor has evolved, whereby each person does a specialized job and, therefore, is dependent on others for needs which his own job does not supply. He gets goods and services through trading, which is facilitated by the use of money as a substitute for actual products. Allocation of goods is made through the market; there producers and consumers determine quantity and kinds of wanted products, and there they establish prices. Market decisions are sometimes modified, however, through desires to promote public welfare by government policy or private voluntary actions. Much of the paper describes examples of the teaching of the major economic concepts, including the understanding and handling of money, profit, trade agreements, business management, household decisions, and government economic activities. The argument is developed for using all of the fundamental ideas of economics in the early grades, increasing the depth and complexity of the treatment of these ideas throughout the grades.

Anthropology, by Paul Bohannon, Northwestern University. #106. 36 pages. \$.80.

The author bases his analysis of human society and

culture on the existence and progressive development of needs. Analytically, needs are identified as those related to his biological nature, his psychological nature, and his social nature. Historically, all of these needs developed as part of a single process, in which the satisfaction of some needs led to the creation of others. A taxonomy of needs is developed, based on the mammalian, social and cultural nature of man. The development of the human individual is analyzed, with stress on the dependency of infants, the consequent necessity of and opportunity for learning, and the importance of the mother-child relationship. The nature of social groups is shown, using in particular the concepts of role, expectations and two-groups. Culture is viewed as the manifestation of individual and social characteristics in "a system of common understandings manifest in act and artifact" (Redfield); and the nature of culture is shown most clearly in the concluding section which analyzes at length the processes and implications of cultural change. The relationship of anthropology to the other social sciences is discussed in an introductory section, and the major concepts and structural relationships of the view of anthropology presented here are displayed in a one-page chart.

Retrieving Social Science Knowledge for Secondary Curriculum Development, by Charles Jung, Ronald Lippitt and Robert Fox, University of Michigan. #109. 93 pages. \$1.60.

Sixteen consultative sessions were held at the University of Michigan, with scholars from the fields of social work, social psychology, psychology, political science, economics, sociology and education. In a typical session, two consultants met with three or four members of the continuing core group. The consultants were given the general problem of describing what methodologies, topics, concepts and phenomena they would consider including in a limited number of units in the secondary social science curriculum. At the close of each session, each consultant was asked to describe new developments and discoveries in his own field which seemed most significant and exciting. In all, thirty-four consultants contributed their views, which are contained in this report. The report provides a rich and scholarly source of ideas about the content of the social sciences, plus a large number of general suggestions about the selection of content and methods in the construction of secondary curricula. Diversity of viewpoints as well as agreement among the consultants is shown. In a summary statement at the beginning, the authors suggest a structure for five basic concept units (change, value, multiple causation, life space, and rationality-emotionality) and five content units that can be built on the basic units (deviation and conformity, identity and membership, conflict and conflict resolution, decision-making and action-taking, and power and influence).

Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula, edited by Irving Morrisett, Purdue University. #121. Letterpress, approx. 144 pages. \$2.00. Available June 15.

This is the report of a conference sponsored by the Consortium and held at Purdue University in January 1966. Participants from a number of social science education projects explained the approach taken by their projects to the selection and structuring of subject matter for building curricula. Among the disciplines cov-

ered by the speakers are history (Edwin Fenton, Social Studies Curriculum Development Center, Carnegie Institute of Technology), geography (Robert McNee, University of Cincinnati and High School Geography Project), anthropology (Robert Hanvey, Anthropology Curriculum Study Project), and political science (Nona Plessner and Joseph Featherstone, Educational Services Inc.). Professor Lawrence Senesh of Purdue University spoke on his curriculum structure which combines a number of other social sciences with economics, and Professor James Shaver of Utah State University spoke on his experience with the "jurisprudential" approach to citizenship education developed at Harvard University. The structure of scientific knowledge and the relationship of values to knowledge were discussed by Professor Herbert Feigl, University of Minnesota, and Professor Michael Scriven, Indiana University. The role of child development psychology in structuring the curriculum was discussed by Dr. Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life. The conference report is enlivened by spirited discussion of the viewpoints presented, including some very stimulating exchanges on the relationship of values to science and to the social studies curriculum.

Evaluation

The Methodology of Evaluation, by Michael Scriven, Indiana University. #110. 58 pages. \$1.10.

This paper points out the deficiencies in current methods of evaluation of educational materials, and suggests fundamental principles that are essential to an adequate methodology of curriculum evaluation. It gives a detailed description of the theoretical criteria that should be included in a complete evaluation procedure, discusses problems of applying these criteria, and defines and contrasts the several basic types of evaluation. The author argues that it is essential to determine the goals of evaluation, as distinct from the several roles that evaluation can play in curriculum development. A thorough evaluation methodology requires a complex set of criteria, including those of cost and integrity. The educational profession as a whole has a primary obligation to recognize the difficulty of good curriculum development, with its essential concomitant evaluation, and to begin a unified attack on the problem of developing and financing the kinds of procedures that are required.

Applications of Knowledge of Child Development to Social Science Education

Child Development and Social Science Education. Part I: Review of the Problem; Part II: Report on Developmental Research Conference, by Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life. #111. 14 pages. \$.40.

Part I describes the problem of inadequate communication between developmental psychologists and curriculum workers, and suggests some directions for cooperative efforts between the two groups. Part II reports on a test run of such a cooperative effort, in which developmental psychologists applied the findings of their profession to specific problems posed by social science educators. Professor Roberta Sigel, a political scientist at Wayne State University, suggested eleven groups of social science concepts taken from history and political

science. Professor John Flavell, a child development psychologist at the University of Minnesota, made the initial presentation of the cognitive acquisitions required to master the social science concepts, and the conference addressed itself in particular to the extent to which children aged 10 to 11 can be expected to have or acquire the necessary cognitive abilities and, therefore, to be able to handle the specific social science concepts. The report is of interest both for its substantive results and for the model of cooperation between child developmentalists and social science educators which it suggests.

Child Development and Social Science Education. Part III: Abstracts of Relevant Literature, by Irving Sigel and Elinor Waters, Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life. #112. 87 pages. \$1.50.

This report contains 67 abstracts of child development source materials relevant to the problems of constructing and teaching sound social studies curricula at all grade levels. The selections were made from a large number of journals and other writings; their distribution among the disciplines is uneven, largely reflecting a similar unevenness in the literature. Twenty-three of the articles abstracted are on political science, 15 each on developmental psychology and sociology-anthropology, and the remainder distributed over the other social sciences. An introductory essay explains the purposes and methods of the literature survey, and suggests ways in which the results might be used.

Child Development and Social Science Education. Part IV: A Teaching Strategy Derived from Some Piagetian Concepts, by Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life. #113. 21 pages. \$.50.

The author presents curriculum approaches based on that part of Piagetian theory that is concerned with the child's ability to deal with classification; the analysis deals with the period of "concrete operations," age four to nine, approximately. The growth of cognitive thought follows a sequential order, in which a prerequisite to logical thought is the ability to deal with multiple classifications. Examples of classifications, classification criteria, conservation, reciprocity and reversibility are given, and the part that they play in thought processes is described. Competence in handling these concepts contributes to awareness and understanding of simple and multiple cause-effect relationships. Applications of these concepts in social science curricula are illustrated. It is suggested that social science curricula which use the discovery approach are preferable to those in which the presentation of facts is stressed, because the discovery approach is an efficient way of acquiring relevant information and has the added advantage of developing logical thought; examples are given.

Research on Methods in Social Science Education

Classroom Research on Subgroup Experiences in a U. S. History Class, by Keith Elkins and Martha Porter, University of Chicago. #114. 66 pages. \$1.20.

Reports on three related pieces of research in a junior high school history class are included in this paper. A major purpose of the research, which was done under the direction of Professor Herbert Thelen of the Uni-

versity of Chicago, was to test a new type of educational research design, which incorporates limited, pin-pointed objectives, and requires as little as one or two days of time in two classes. While the results of the reported research are not entirely conclusive, they indicate the following outcomes. In the first study, a comparison of three modes of classroom procedure showed that subgroup activity was superior to other types of activity for the generation of ideas by the students. The second study showed the superiority of subgroup activity for getting students to formulate academic tasks and for generating a commitment to go ahead with the tasks. The third study showed some relationships between characteristics of students and acceptance by their peers of ideas presented in class discussion. All three studies demonstrate the importance of considering measures of individual student characteristics in the interpretation of the results of classroom research; results that are valid for some students in a class may be lost completely if the class is treated as a single group.

Values in Social Science Education

The three papers described below form a progression from "theory" toward "application." The first is a position paper on the foundations of ethics and the methodological basis for moral value judgments. The second brings that position to bear on value issues in the social sciences. The third deals with the role of values in the curriculum. A brief statement of the author's position on value judgments and their relationship to the curriculum is contained in the lead article of this newsletter. Professor Scriven is engaged in further development of his work on values in the curriculum, and plans to produce materials on specific methods of handling values in the curriculum and in the classroom.

Morality, by Michael Scriven, Indiana University. #122. 119 pages. \$2.00.

This is a detailed and rather technical discussion of the foundations of morality. The first part defines morality, the second states the case for a moral community, the third deals with criticisms and refinements of the argument. It is argued that there is a particular conception of morality that can be shown to be an extension of rationality, and that having moral goals is rationally preferable to not having them. A comprehensive, defensible morality can be founded upon consideration of its effects on members of a moral society. Long-run practical considerations indicate certain desirable attitudes, such as calmness and obeying certain kinds of orders; long-run considerations of relations with others point to such desirable ends as equal rights and love of others. Finally, since morality offers important benefits for any member of a group if the rest of the group adopts it, there are grounds for encouraging the moral training of this generation and the next. This paper will appear as a chapter in Michael Scriven, *Primary Philosophy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

Value Claims in the Social Sciences, by Michael Scriven, Indiana University. #123. 39 pages. \$.80.

This paper sets out a classification, or typology, of values which can be used to judge the worth of things in man's environment. Using the four types of values set forth in his typology, the author builds a case which denies the validity of the popular arguments that only empirical judgments are required and justifiable in the

natural and social sciences. Non-moral and moral value judgments are distinguished; the former are evaluative judgments, or conclusions, which are drawn by all scientists when they compare performance with a desired outcome; moral value judgments are similarly concerned with comparisons between performance and desired outcomes, but refer to the special area of relations among people. It is part of the business of all scientists to make non-moral value judgments; it is also the business of all scientists, but particularly of social scientists, to make moral value judgments—as social scientists, not just as citizens.

Student Values as Educational Objectives, by Michael Scriven, Indiana University. #124. 23 pages. \$.55.

The author states that the adoption of certain values as educational objectives requires justifying the effort to change student values, demonstrating the effects of such changes on the educational enterprise, and measuring changes in student values. A deep concern for values as educational objectives can be justified by a system of reasoning that rests on an egalitarian moral principle. Neglect of value-directed and value-affecting teaching in the social studies and related areas is evidence of professional neglect, or even incompetence. Even though morality is the most subtle and complex social institution of all, we *can* justify particular moral judgments; therefore, we can justify teaching them, where relevant, in exactly the same way we can justify teaching particular scientific assertions. Designing, performing and analyzing experiments in value and value-change agencies must be seen as a major research operation in which there is much room for creative new work.

CONFRONTATION

In the busyness of developing, field-testing, revising and evaluating new curriculum approaches and materials, there is too little opportunity for communication among persons involved in different projects. Teachers, curriculum supervisors, educators and social scientists may have adequate communications within a single project, but cross-project exchanges and confrontations are rare. This lack was aptly symbolized when 17 social science curriculum projects reported on their activities at the last annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies—all simultaneously, in different rooms.

Opportunities are needed for critical probing, comparing and questioning—of everybody, by everybody, about everything in a curriculum project. The interested questioners should be social scientists from all disciplines, including geography and history, trainers of teachers, school administrators, curriculum directors and supervisors, and classroom teachers.

Three recent conferences which were planned in the spirit of such confrontations are reported briefly here.

Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University

On November 11 and 12, about 70 persons met at the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs to participate in a Conference on Economic Education sponsored by the Commissioners of Education of the Nine Northeastern States and directed by Professor John Gibson, Acting Director of the Center. Over half of the group were classroom teachers and supervisors from the New England states; also included were curriculum

project workers from all over the nation, economists and other social scientists, and representatives of state departments of education.

On the first day Professor Lawrence Senesh, of Purdue University, presented his elementary-grade economics program, often referred to as "The Elkhart experiment," and Mr. William Rader described the Elementary School Economics Program of the University of Chicago's Industrial Relations Research Center. On the second day, Professor Meno Lovenstein discussed the Ohio State University ninth-grade economics project. Then followed a presentation of the Harvard-Newton Project in Business History and Economic Concepts by the project director, Mr. Paul Cawein of the Newton Public Schools, and by Professors Ralph Hidy, Arthur Johnson and André Danière of Harvard University.

Each of the presentations included descriptions of the projects—their history, types of materials, subject outlines and general rationale in each case; and, less generally, methods of testing and evaluation, and detailed rationales for selection of particular content and particular methodologies.

More exciting were the challenges that arose. There was general agreement that the important concepts of economics should be stressed, but questions arose as to whether a clear structuring of the concepts and materials is desirable. Doesn't a particular structure restrict the student's freedom of inquiry? Professors Lovenstein and Senesh stood strongly for a clearly-structured content, but the Harvard-Newton project people as well as other discussants questioned whether a structure of the cognitive content is either appropriate or possible for the history-oriented Harvard-Newton project.

One of the clearest and most useful confrontations of the conference was between the basic structures of the Lovenstein and Senesh materials. Professor Lovenstein has used the key ordered concepts

Scarcity—Flows—Systems

while Professor Senesh has used

Scarcity—Markets—Goals

The two systems agree on the importance of scarcity, and on its placement at the beginning of the system. Professor Lovenstein and his supporters said that the concept of "flows" is more general than "markets," encompassing market phenomena as well as other mechanisms by which goods and services are put into use; the Senesh partisans argued that the market is the dominant mode for distribution of goods and services in the kinds of economies that it is most important for children to understand, and its central position in the system does not preclude consideration of other, less important, modes. Professor Lovenstein argued that giving an important place to "Systems," meaning the various forms of market organization such as capitalism, socialism and communism, make his conceptual pattern more general, while Professor Senesh argued that the conscious consideration of goals is essential to an understanding of public policy, which is a major purpose of studying economics in our educational system.

**Metropolitan St. Louis Social Studies Center,
Washington University**

On December 2 and 3, the Metropolitan Social Studies Center held a seminar at Webster College, in cooperation with the College and under the direction of Pro-

fessor Harold Berlak, Assistant Director of the Center. The purpose was to analyze Professor Senesh's first- and second-grade materials, "Our Working World," as a case study in the Center's long-range purpose of developing a methodology for analyzing social science curriculum materials in depth. There were about 35 participants, mostly teachers and curriculum supervisors from St. Louis area schools that are working with the Center.

Professor Berlak explained that it is the Center's purpose to work out a complete rationale for the various social science curricula as they become available, to guide the Center's cooperative work with schools in the metropolitan area in trying out the new materials. The various aspects of a curriculum rationale may be explicit or implicit, and should include a full description of, and justification for, empirical content, the ordering or structuring of the content, the teaching methods, the teaching materials, the assumptions about learning processes, the empirical assumptions about the nature of, and value assumptions about, man and society.

Sister Carl Marie Mueller, second-grade teacher and principal of the Webster College Experimental School, was the first guest speaker, and described the rationale of "Our Working World" from the standpoint of the teacher and the child. Professor Irving Morrisett, Director of the Social Science Education Consortium and Professor of Economics at Purdue University, described the structure of economics as presented in the materials. Critiques of the talks were given by Professors David Kamerschen and Marshall Hall of the Washington University Department of Economics, and by seminar participants.

The second day opened with a classroom demonstration by Sister Carl Marie, using the Senesh materials. There followed an analysis by Professor Berlak of the value issues raised in "Our Working World," and, in the afternoon, a final presentation by Sister Carl Marie of classroom problems encountered in implementing new materials.

The seminar was informal, and many of the participants took part in the discussions, which sometimes grew warm. The most heated discussion was on the role of values in the Senesh curriculum. It was agreed that "Our Working World," while presenting a great store of realistic content to the children, has an optimistic cast that implies a world that is friendly and has many opportunities, and there were some questions about the appropriateness of this outlook.

Other topics discussed by the seminar participants, based on "Our Working World," included the requirements for teacher-training (many thought that special training is generally needed for innovative materials), the conflict between highly structured materials and "divergent thinking," and ways in which the teacher can interact creatively with rich, structured curriculum materials.

Social Science Education Consortium, at Purdue University

On January 29 and 30, a conference on "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula," sponsored by the Consortium, was held at Purdue University. About half of the 55 participants were persons from university-based social science curriculum projects; among the others were elementary and secondary teachers, curriculum supervisors, principals, and social scientists not related to curriculum projects.

Most of the new social science curriculum projects

in the nation have begun their work with an intensive and sometimes prolonged study of the subject matter to be included in the curriculum. A number of outstanding scholars in the various social sciences have participated in these inquiries, to select the "concepts," "fundamental ideas," "structure," and so on, that are to be included in the curricula. The results of these efforts of experts appear implicitly, much later, in curriculum materials; but the results are seldom made available explicitly.

The principal purpose of the conference was to present the basic approaches to content of a number of curriculum projects, and to compare and evaluate them. The purpose of the comparison and evaluation was to get cross-fertilization between projects, to stimulate new ways of thinking among curriculum developers, and to subject the thinking of project workers to the critical questioning of "consumers."

The published report of the conference, which will be available June 15, is described along with other SSEC publications elsewhere in this newsletter. That description includes the list of speakers and their topics.

A wide range of approaches to "concepts and structure" was displayed at the conference, from Professor Lawrence Senesh's formal, charted summaries of sociology, anthropology, geography, political science and economics to Professor Edwin Fenton's description of "the structure of history as a list of analytical questions." The presentations by social scientists of the structure of their subjects were supplemented by philosophers of science who spoke on the general structure of scientific knowledge and the role of values in the structure of knowledge, and by a child developmental psychologist who talked about the relationship of concepts and the structure of knowledge to the developing child.

While the topic of the conference was aimed at one particular part of the broad problem of curriculum development and curriculum change, it was impossible to keep the participants from ranging over curriculum objectives, learning processes, teacher training, teaching strategies, and the institutional problems of curriculum change. Disagreements were frequent, and sometimes sharp, particularly on the role of values in the curriculum and on the extent to which values can be decided on rational bases.

ORGANIZATION AND FINANCING OF THE SSEC

The Social Science Education Consortium was organized as a not-for-profit corporation in the State of Indiana in November 1965. Members of the Board of Directors, elected in February 1966, are:

Ronald Lippitt, Institute for Social Research,
University of Michigan, President

Lawrence Senesh, Department of Economics,
Purdue University, Vice President

Harold Berlak, Metropolitan St. Louis Social
Studies Center, Washington University

Wilbur Brookover, Social Science Teaching
Institute, Michigan State University

Michael Scriven, History and Philosophy of
Science, Indiana University

Robert Stake, Center for Instructional Research and
Curriculum Evaluation, University of Illinois

Robert Horton, Department of Economics, Purdue
University, is Treasurer; Irving Morrisett is Executive
Director; Mrs. Katherine Elbring is Secretary.

A developmental contract for \$115,697 and a supplemental contract for \$15,390, made by the U. S. Office of Education with Purdue University for the work of the SSEC, supported the Consortium from August 15, 1964 through March 31, 1966. A grant of \$30,000 was made available by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation for the period January 1 through June 30, 1966. Further applications for support are pending with the U. S. Office of Education.

Copies of this and subsequent newsletters are available upon request to:

Irving Morrisett, Executive Director
Social Science Education Consortium, Inc.
427 Wood Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Up to ten copies may be sent to a single address without charge. Larger bulk orders will be filled at ten cents a copy, payable to Social Science Education Consortium, Inc.



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The Methodology of Evaluation, by Michael Scriven.
Child Development and Social Science Education, Parts I and II, by Irving Sigel.
Child Development and Social Science Education, Part III, by Irving Sigel and Elinor Waters.
Child Development and Social Science Education, Part IV, by Irving Sigel.
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C O P Y

AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE
SPRINGFIELD 9, MASSACHUSETTS
October 25, 1965

Professor Irving Morrissett
Director, Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Professor Morrissett:

May I take this occasion to thank you very belatedly for responding so promptly to my hurried request for information about SSEC in August. The copies of the July, 1965 NEWSLETTER that you sent me for the exhibit at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at Chicago were picked up almost as fast as I placed them on the table.

I am sorry to bother you again, but I would like to make several more requests.

First, on November 6 I am taking part in a conference on Recent Trends in the Social Sciences and History, sponsored by the Springfield school system. I will be speaking on "Sociology," and, if possible, I would like to have some copies of the above newsletter to use for display and distribution.

Second, would you be kind enough to send six copies of the same newsletter to Dr. Sam D. Sieber, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., who is my successor as Chairman of the Committee on Sociology and the Social Studies of the Eastern Sociological Society, and who would like the copies for distribution to the members of the Committee.

Third, would you also send copies of the newsletter to Dr. Robert A. Dentler, Director, Institute of Urban Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, who is my successor as Chairman of the Committee on the Teaching of Social Problems of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, and to Dr. Hans O. Mauksch, Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago, Ill., who is Vice-Chairman of the same Committee.

And if you still have copies of the first SSEC NEWSLETTER I would be pleased to receive same. Finally, please add the names of Sieber, Dentler, Mauksch and myself to your mailing list to receive future copies of the newsletter.

Your organization is fulfilling a much needed function by the publication of the newsletter. May I take this opportunity to wish you well in your future activities. Enclosed find a reprint that may be of interest.

Yours sincerely,

Robert H. Bohlke
Associate Professor of Sociology

C O P Y

DEPENDENTS SCHOOLING OFFICE (ATLANTIC)
WASHINGTON NAVY YARD
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20390

28 October 1965

Dr. Irving Morrisett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

Thank you for your immediate response to my letter, and placing this office on your mailing list.

I have read Newsletter No. 1 and No. 2 with great interest as, (1) a former teacher in the Social Studies Field who was dissatisfied with values sought, (2) a former Director of Social Studies Instruction who was concerned with the outdated curriculum and (3) as a Counseling Psychologist aware of individual needs to function in our society.

The Newsletter is succinct and, I believe, will be of immeasurable value to the function of our office in servicing our schools in their isolated locations.

Please change my address to read as below.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT A. GRAY, JR.
Supervisor, Counseling and
Psychological Services
Dependents Schooling Office
(Atlantic)
Washington Navy Yard
Washington, D. C. 20390

C O P Y

OHIO UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Athens, Ohio

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

November 19, 1965

Dr. Irving Morrisett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

I have had an opportunity to read the July, 1965, SSEC Newsletter and am impressed with what you folks are attempting to do. The distillation of Professor Perruci's paper addressed itself to the general area covered by the Social Inquiry Program being developed at Cleveland Heights, Ohio and at Scarsdale, New York. The two systems have structured a program and are now in the process of implementing the approach K through 8.

I would appreciate your putting the following on your mailing list:

John T. Mallan, Assistant Director
Center for International Program
College of Education
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

James F. Gray, Supervising Principal
Quaker Ridge School, District 2
Scarsdale Public Schools
Scarsdale, New York

John W. Vaughn, Supervising Principal
Cleveland Heights-University Heights City Schools
Board of Education
Miramar Boulevard
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

If copies of the July, 1965 Newsletter are still available, I would appreciate your sending five (5) to each of the above people. It might be worth your while to contact both James Gray and John Vaughn to get copies of the grade level materials which they are using in their respective schools.

Sincerely,

John T. Mallan

C O P Y

H A N O V E R S U P E R V I S O R Y U N I O N

N O . 2 2

Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

December 30, 1965

Irving Morrissett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium

A belated but sincere thanks for your Newsletter. It is obviously indispensable reading for anyone in curriculum work. I trust my name is safely on your mailing list for future copies.

Meanwhile, may I please have up to 10 copies of your July, 1965 Newsletter and a copy of the Schmuck, et al., reprints from Educational Leadership? Hope they are still available.

Thanks,

Delmar W. Goodwin
Coordinator
Social Studies K-12
Hanover High School

S C H O O L D I S T R I C T O F T H E C I T Y O F L A D U E
9703 CONWAY ROAD
St. Louis 24, Missouri

Office of the
Coordinator of Instruction

November 23, 1965

Mr. Irving Morrissett, Director
Central Office
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana

Dear Mr. Morrissett:

Thank you for SSEC Newsletter No. 2 which included the definitive article by Robert Perrucci, "Sociology and the School Curriculum."

If such a request is in order, I should like to ask that I be placed on your mailing list to receive future copies of the SSEC Newsletter.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin P. Morley

C O P Y

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF BALTIMORE COUNTY
WILLIAM S. SARTORIUS, SECRETARY-TREASURER
SUPERINTENDENT
TOWSON, MARYLAND 21204

January 5, 1966.

Dr. Irving Morrissett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana 47906

Dear Dr. Morrissett:

At the Miami Convention of the National Council for the Social Studies, I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the July, 1965, Newsletter of the SSEC. To continue this acquaintance, may I ask that you add my name to your mailing list?

The Baltimore County, Maryland, school system operates eighteen senior or senior-junior high schools. Most have social studies staffs of about twelve teachers. In the hope that these staffs may each enjoy the commentary of the SSEC personnel, I am enclosing a roster of the Department Chairman in the Baltimore County schools. If your policy will permit, may they, too, receive the SSEC Newsletter?

It is exciting to note the projects you have underway dealing with evaluation of social studies curriculum, and with values in the social studies. Will you inform your correspondents by Newsletter of the availability and distribution channels for papers related to these projects?

Thank you for the leadership you and your staff are exercising.

Very truly yours,

H. Clifton Osborn
Secondary Supervisor

C O P Y

B R I S T O L E A S T E R N H I G H S C H O O L
BRISTOL, CONNECTICUT

February 4, 1966

Mr. Irving Morrissett
Director of Social Science
Education Consortium
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana

Dear Mr. Morrissett:

I wish to thank you so much for sending to us the newsletter of the Social Science Education Consortium. What a wonderful opportunity this is for those of us who are in the Social Science field who are attempting change, up-dating, and up-lifting our curriculum.

We indeed appreciate the fact that you have placed our name on your mailing list to receive future copies of the newsletter and other information about your activities.

Thank you again for your kindness and help.

Sincerely,

John Whitcomb, Chairman
Social Science Dept.
Bristol Eastern High School
Bristol, Connecticut

Section 4

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

In addition to the newsletter, fifteen mimeographed reports on various aspects of the Consortium's work, taken from this and the following report, are being made available, as described in the April 1966 newsletter displayed in the preceding section. The reports are individually bound, with attractive covers.

A report on the January 1966 SSEC conference, "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula," is being published by the Consortium and will be disseminated widely.

A series of articles based on the work of Professor Lawrence Senesh's group is being published in The Instructor magazine, which has a circulation of 250,000, mainly among elementary teachers. Copies of the first two of these articles are included in this section of the report. These are

"Sociology," by Robert Perrucci, Purdue University, with teaching applications by Sister M. Mercedes, O.S.B., St. Scholastica High School, Chicago.

"Political Science," by David Collier and David Easton, University of Chicago, with teaching applications by Joseph Rueff, Elkhart (Indiana) schools.

The work done by Professor Senesh's multidisciplinary group, and the January conference on concepts and structure as seen by various curriculum projects, have made substantial contributions to the progress of Professor Senesh's projected content-method text. The papers prepared by his working group which are included in this report, the articles in The Instructor, and Professor Senesh's chapter in the Consortium book reporting on the January 1966 conference, give some indication of the approach of the book. It will contain information about the substance and structure of all of the social sciences, and will tie them closely to a suggested curriculum structure in the "orchestrated" approach to the disciplines which Professor Senesh has been developing.

A reprint series of published articles of particular interest for social science education, which we think should receive wider circulation, has been started. Number 1 in the series is

Patricia Schmuck, John E. Lohman, Ronald Lippitt and Robert Fox, "Social Science Education: A Curriculum Frontier," Educational Leadership, February 1965.

Sociology

Robert Perrucci -- what sociology is

SOCIOLOGY aims to help people understand the world in which they live through current knowledge about (1) the nature and importance of individual and social values, (2) how values shape institutions, groups, and organizations, (3) how men react with one another through the various positions and roles they assume in groups and organizations, and (4) how the interaction between the individual and his society may result either in the preservation or the modification of the values and institutions of society. This article describes these fundamental ideas and relationships.

Values and norms

Values are the main source of energy and guidance in a social system. Values are goals in which individuals have an emotional investment—things that they want, consider as important, desire to become, and enjoy. For individuals, values supply the motivations toward desirable objectives, such as affection, material goods, and security. For society, values supply the guidelines which individuals are expected to observe and the framework within which children are trained. Values may be likened to the heart in a biological system—the main moving force, supplying elements that reach and greatly influence all parts of the sys-

tem, but also are influenced by events that occur within the system itself.

Norms are statements based on values on which there is substantial social agreement. They concern modes of behavior desired or prescribed by society. Norms are the "oughts" and "shoulds" of society, supported by rewards and penalties, subtly guiding or forcefully restricting the behavior of all individuals in the system. The important role of values and norms in a social system is indicated at the top and center of the accompanying diagram.

Expectations

Expectations regarding the behavior of other persons are based primarily on society's values and norms. A man crossing the street with the light in his favor expects autos to stop. In turn, drivers expect pedestrians not to dart out in front of their autos. Guided by these complementary expectations, the attainment of the independent objectives of both drivers and pedestrians is possible.

The web of expectations can stand a certain amount of strain or deviation. Serious departures from shared expectations, however, can result in reduced effectiveness of the group, or in permanent damage to the relationships involved. In the example, drivers would lose

their freedom to proceed with speed and confidence, and pedestrians would lose their safety. There are similar expectations that family members have of each other, that members of a work group have of each other, and that friends have of each other.

Institutions

As norms and values take a specific area of activity as their referent, we get a meaningful cluster that defines the patterns of behavior in specific situations. Such clusters of ideas about behavior in specific areas of human activity determine the *social institutions* which are the blueprints for living. As an example, we have norms which specify who may enter courtship, engage in sexual relationships, and raise children. This cluster of norms and values constitute the family institution.

There are also norms and values concerning production and consumption of goods, allocation of power, formal training of the young, and ways of dealing with sacred things. These are respectively the economic, political, educational, and religious institutions.

Groups and organizations

Values, norms, and social institutions are abstract ideas which must reach individuals

Sister M. Mercedes O.S.B. -- sociology in elementary school

EVEN in elementary school, a child is familiar with many basic concepts of sociology. Born into a specific family group and a definite society, he is living out the contents of sociology. He can thus recognize many of the elements and aspects of sociology when they are pointed out to him.

Because of the complexities of our urbanized culture, the individual can be overwhelmed by the many challenges and commitments he faces. Not only can he become confused by pressures of membership in a great variety of groups, each seemingly pursuing a different purpose, but he may think himself incapable of being an influence upon a society so tightly intermeshed. The result can be the loss of his sense of responsibility for anything beyond his immediate milieu.

Such an attitude contradicts the historical movement toward greater interdependence of peoples and increased complexity. The relationship of elements in society is one of the most important understandings which a child can gain. It becomes aware of the many facets of life about himself. It also provides a format for the study of peoples of other nations and times,

and for a greater understanding of their different cultures.

Content

It is extremely important that children be aware of how an integrated society can be formed by the people of an area the size of the United States, in which exist such wide variations in value systems. How, for example, can there be groups as divergent as the conservative Amish and the urban consumer? Communication makes it possible. Through the interchange of ideas, individuals and groups gain understanding. Challenges to one's value system promote a willingness to negotiate and to lessen sharp value differences.

Children should also know how the value system of a society may change. For example, science and technology have transformed the United States into an urbanized society, and the values of the urban community have largely replaced rural value systems. Thrift has given place to spending as an aid to technological development. The individual with initiative is overshadowed by the organization man. Concern for leisure is on a footing with concern for

one's work. Such changes are the result of continuous social interaction in which value differences are minimized, making possible adjustments in the entire value system. More changes occur in societies which are more complex and in which conflicts of values exist.

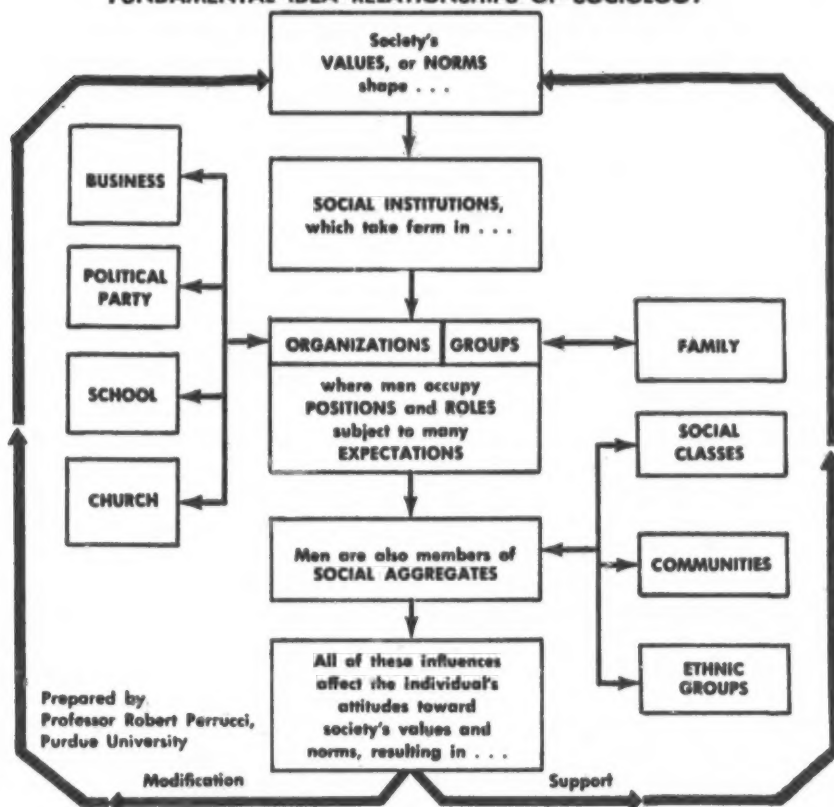
Differences which children observe among various societies should be recognized as differences in value systems. Origins of these values can likewise be pointed out to them.

Once pupils can differentiate human activities on the basis of belonging to certain organizations, you should show how these groups are interrelated and interdependent. With younger pupils you can lead the class to see what would happen if schools were to close—a situation in the educational system. Many persons would cease to qualify for jobs (*economic*); they might not be able to vote intelligently (*political*); a mother might be ignorant of many cooking, sewing, and health measures (*family*). The class might begin with an economic area and consider how large-scale unemployment would affect other organizations: family support, demands on the government, and educational effects. Such questions help

Fifth in a series discussing
the significance of eight
separate disciplines in the
elementary curriculum.

April: Geography

FUNDAMENTAL IDEA RELATIONSHIPS OF SOCIOLOGY



in some concrete form in order to influence social behavior. That form is the social group in which man is involved. Men may participate in either small, face-to-face *groups* or large, formally structured *organizations*, with replaceable members.

Organizations and groups are the embodiment of institutions. The family institution, as an example, is embodied in the family group and in that part of the legal organization of society which makes and enforces rules about family relationships. Economic institutions are embodied in organizations such as unions, corporations, and government regulatory agencies. Political institutions are embodied in

organizations such as courts, government, and political parties; educational institutions in schools and family groups; and religious institutions in organizations such as churches and parochial schools.

Positions

Organizations and groups must see to it that certain tasks, essential for the continued existence of the groupings, are fulfilled. Within the internal structures of organizations and groups, *positions* specify the activities for persons occupying them. Expectations are attached to positions in different social groupings. People learn what is expected of them when they assume certain positions. As positions are filled, expectations are activated and applied to the occupants of the positions.

Some of the social categories containing such positions are represented in the figure. Men occupy positions in different social structures and are thereby subjected to expectations concerning how they think, feel, or believe by other persons also occupying positions in the social structure. (Continued on page 148)

ROBERT PERRUCCI is Professor of Sociology and a member of the Social Science Education Consortium at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

Elementary social studies

children see the effects in all organizations when initial changes are made in only one.

Older students can show how the value system is a basis for interrelationship among organizations of a society by choosing a value of the society, such as personal initiative or freedom, and suggesting norms by which it is applied to the organizations. For example, a citizen should be free to vote for whoever he feels is most qualified to fill an office. Producers, within the range of the common good, should be free to produce what they wish. Consumers ought to be free to select what they purchase.

Positions and roles can be related to the experience of the child. Children must also learn to handle the conflicts which arise from expectations demanded by the different roles the individual performs. For example, in time of war a soldier is decorated for killing, but killing a person on a city street brings punishment.

Children must be shown how difficult and yet important it is to find ways to coordinate different value commitments, such as those related to one's job (profit maximization), to charity (selflessness), to family (time and devotion), to education (understanding and re-

spect for other value systems), and patriotic commitments (bearing of arms).

Skills

Conflict situations are continually occurring for both individuals and groups: conflicts in values, roles, and positions; conflicts among technology, values, and institutions. Thus, a primary skill to develop through the study of sociology is problem solving.

The solution to a problem can be found only after (1) identifying the symptoms; (2) surveying the social, political, economic, moral, or family aspects; (3) defining the problem; (4) determining its scope; and (5) analyzing its causes. Children can practice identifying the core of a conflict. For example, the conflict underlying the problem of discrimination is a conflict between the existing institutional arrangements and changing values and norms.

Attitudes

Sociology can help develop the following attitudes important to the survival of a democratic society: (1) personal responsibility to community groups; (2) individual involvement

in supporting or modifying elements of his society; (3) respect for differences and appreciation of contributions of these differences to our society; (4) openness to necessary organizational changes; and (5) awareness and appreciation of the cultures and institutional differences of other societies.

The statement, "Man is social by nature," means that he best develops himself, his thinking, and his response to human needs within a social context. This is necessary to understanding the balance sought between the individual and his society.

Approach

Dr. Perrucci's chart does not mean that the concepts of sociology must be presented in any one particular order. The chart gives you a network of knowledge to which you can meaningfully relate children's experiences. A child might announce that (Continued on page 148)

SISTER M. MERCEDES O.S.B. is Chairman of Social Studies, St. Scholastica School, Chicago, Ill., and a member of the Social Studies Education Consortium, Purdue University

What sociology is

(Continued from page 47)

Social roles

Man is not a passive agent, filling positions, being subjected to expectations, and behaving in accord with such expectations. There is considerable variability in the manner in which persons in the same positions behave. All mothers and fathers, for example, do not behave in the same fashion *vis-à-vis* their children. A person brings to a position his own values, attitudes, personality characteristics, and life experiences. Every individual occupies multiple positions as a member of many organizations and groups. Multiple group membership leads to multiple expectations which are often different and incompatible. The way in which an individual reconciles these differences leads him to shape the positions he occupies, as well as to influence other persons who occupy the positions related to his own. The specific behavior which results from all of these sources of variation constitutes the *social role* of a person in a particular position.

Social aggregates

Social aggregates are groupings such as social classes, communities, and ethnic groups, in which there is no formal organizational structure, and in which the members are not necessarily in face-to-face or day-to-day contact. The members of such an aggregate may or may not think of themselves as belonging to it, and may or may not be aware of influences on their behavior stemming from such membership in a group.

Man in society

The diagram gives some indication of the many influences and pressures that impinge upon an individual as a member of a social system. An individual who finds little incompatibility between social influences and his own values and preferred behavior is likely to support the norms of his society, thus strengthening the expectations and institutions of the social structure.

On the other hand, an individual may find that his own values and preferred behavior conflict with the prevailing social influences. In this case, his behavior tends to modify the social norms, and thus to change the expectations and social institutions and the social structure that is based upon them.

These two types of reactions of the individual to the social forces acting on him are represented by the two feedback loops in the diagram. The stability of the social system and the nature of social changes depend upon the strength and content of these two conflicting forces.

The basic ideas of sociology explained and illustrated here can be used in the social studies curriculum at all levels, either as the basis for independent units or to supplement and enrich the student's un-

derstanding of other social sciences. In either case they can enhance his ability to undertake theoretical analysis and solve practical problems and make him a more intelligent citizen of the complex society in which he will grow up.

The foregoing article by Professor Perrucci was adapted from "Sociology and the School Curriculum," published in the July 1965 issue of the SSEC Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana.

Sociology in elementary social studies

(Continued from page 47)

not one member of a new family in his neighborhood can speak English. This could start a discussion of ethnic groups. It is important to relate the discussion to the other fundamental ideas in Dr. Perrucci's diagram.

Curriculum enrichment

There are many ways the introduction of sociology can enrich the present social studies curriculum. In geography, you can point out the effects on a society of the climate, the physical features of the land, and the abundance or lack of resources. Suggest how the geography of the country influences certain values of that society. Organizations of a society are often a response to geographical conditions.

Sociological concepts can help to interpret history, either by selecting a society at a particular point in time, or by studying historical change in terms of value modifications and/or organizational adjustments within one nation. The problem-solving approach provides a method for studying domestic or international conflict as conflicts of values, norms, roles, or as conflicts in determining the structures of organizations in the society.

Sociology is no longer a new field for teachers. More colleges require courses in sociology. The high schools have begun to offer courses identified as sociology. Educational research has shown that the greatest influence on thinking occurs at the elementary and at the college levels. Therefore, it seems reasonable to introduce the basic concepts of sociology even earlier than high school. Because the elementary pupil can identify his own activity with these concepts, there is little reason to withhold the understanding which sociology can provide.

Additional information

For "The First Ladies Cook Book" (see Feb. INSTRUCTOR, page 12), the Consulting Editor was Helen Duprey Bullock, Director, Department of Information, National Trust for Historic Preservation. Margaret Brown Klapthor, Associate Curator, Division of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, was responsible for the Historical Text.

Political science

David Collier, David Easton-- what political science

EVERY society must perform certain basic functions in order to survive, such as replacing members, educating new generations, establishing goals, providing for material needs, and maintaining order. Family, school, church, industry and agriculture, and government are among the institutions that carry out these functions. The political system must be distinguished from these other facets of social life. Its function is to maintain order.

The political system includes not only government, but all aspects of political life in society. Its function is to settle differences through laws, presidential actions, court decisions, and rules of regulatory agencies in disputes which cannot be resolved informally by other institutions. To put it technically, the characteristic way members of society regulate their differences politically is through the *authoritative allocation of valued things* for the society—things desired or sought after by people in the society.

The great number of patterns of interaction—such as voting, parties, interest groups, and government—that are related to making binding decisions for the society constitute a political system. The remaining systems, including the economic, cultural, and other *social systems*,

are indicated on the diagram outside the boundaries of the political system but within the *intra-societal environment*. Beyond that are indicated the systems of activity of international scope in the *extra-societal environment*, that is, the sphere of relations among national societies.

This analysis emphasizes the relationship of the political system to its environment. It discusses *demands*, an input from the environment into the political system; *outputs*, the decisions made by the authorities; *support* for the political system, which is another kind of input; and *feedback*, a concept which unifies our analysis.

Demands The people of any society have innumerable expectations, interests, opinions, motivations, and preferences regarding the allocation of valued things within the society. We call these *wants*. Most of them can be satisfied by family, educational, religious, or economic institutions in the intra-societal environment.

Sometimes people cannot or do not want to satisfy their wants through the systems within these institutions. When people desire that their wants be satisfied authoritatively, the wants become a matter for the political process. Wants are thus transferred into political *demands*.

What distinguishes a political from a nonpolitical action is that the political action places authoritative obligations on all members of society. Examples of wants which have been translated into political demands are care for the aged, housing control, equal education, and unemployment compensation.

When demands are ready to be considered by the authorities, they are often challenged or reconsidered by politically powerful members of the society who thereby act as *gatekeepers*. Gatekeepers are forces possessing the opportunity, once a demand is moving through the political system, to determine its destiny. Gatekeepers could include various legislators, interest groups, opinion leaders, business organizations, political parties, newspapers, and so on. As a result of actions undertaken by gatekeepers, demands may be dropped, combined, or integrated with other demands; they may be revised into formal public issues.

When a demand becomes an issue, *cleavages*, or sharp disagreements, may appear and may even challenge national unity. When opinion is divided many ways, it may become hard for the authorities to get approval of a decision. In such a case, cleavage strains the political sys-

Joseph Rueff-- political science in elementary s

THE above approach to the analysis of political systems offers educators an opportunity to bring a new challenge to an area of the curriculum that has long suffered from an inability to motivate pupils. For far too long the study of politics has ranked low in pupils' esteem, because emphasis on mechanics of government left little room for the real drama of our political system. What we need is to uncover the dynamic aspects of political life.

The political process is a continuing one, in which all citizens have roles to play. To help children understand this process and their relationship to it should be your major purpose in teaching about politics. Because this is such an important aspect of life in a democratic society, study needs to begin during the early years of school, when the child's curiosity is ripe and before misconceptions have had an opportunity to set in.

What is needed is not another course in an already crowded schedule, but rather a different point of view. Once you understand the funda-

mental concepts and relationships of political science, you can construct activities within the framework of your present social studies course that will enable children to discover the political world around them.

Children are rich with experiences that can be used to demonstrate these ideas. For example, in the first grade the family unit can illustrate the need for authorities to make binding decisions. Children's wants are expressed in their many activities, such as reading, watching television, or playing with their friends. When these wants conflict with those of others, somebody has to make a preferential decision. For instance, Johnny wishes to watch his favorite TV program, but suppose Johnny's sister wishes to watch a different program. They may settle the matter by themselves, but often someone else, usually their parents, has to make a regulation which is binding on both children and which also might be used to guide future behavior. With such commonplace occurrences as this, children answer questions that have a

profound relationship to understanding our political system. Who are the authorities in our families that make these decisions? Why are rules necessary? Why do we follow the regulations made by authorities? What would happen if we did not? In reference to these final questions, your pupils may discuss approval as our reward for obeying rules, and disapproval, or sometimes the denial of privileges, as punishment for not obeying.

You can likewise relate the discussion to the authority to make regulations which is given to many people in our city, state, and nation. The family somewhat parallels the three levels of a political system. In the broadest sense, all family members share a common loyalty that transcends day-to-day differences, a sense of belonging very similar to the concept of patriotism. Members of the family share values, customs, traditions, and rules which establish a framework for family life, much like the regime which is formed by the values, norms, and structure of authority placed upon it by

Seventh in a series discussing
the significance of eight
separate disciplines in the
elementary curriculum.
June: Economics

ncc is

tem. Only when cleavages regarding controversies have been reduced can authorities act on demands and make effective decisions.

Outputs Just as demands are a major input to the system from the environment, so the decisions of the authorities are the outputs that affect the environment. Outputs may take the form of legislation—by a city council, the state assembly, or by Congress; executive orders given by a mayor, a governor, or the President; decisions of courts at any level of government; regulations determined by agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission; actions by the Justice Department; or even an order by a policeman.

Support Another input is *support*. Support concerns the degree to which people approve of the political system that is processing their demands. Support may be external activities connected with organizations, demonstrations, and parades; or it may be an internal attitude such as duty or loyalty.

The amount of support actually given to the political system is the net balance remaining after measuring support against opposition and

indifference; it may fluctuate a great deal. Fluctuations of support may subject the political system to stress in one or more of three ways: 1) cleavages may challenge the *unity* of the political community; 2) confidence in the *form* of political system may be undermined; or 3) members of the society may oppose the particular *people* in authority.

These three kinds of stress suggest three major objects of political support, which are likewise the three basic components of the political system: the political community, the regime, and the authorities. People play important roles in all three areas.

Objects of support

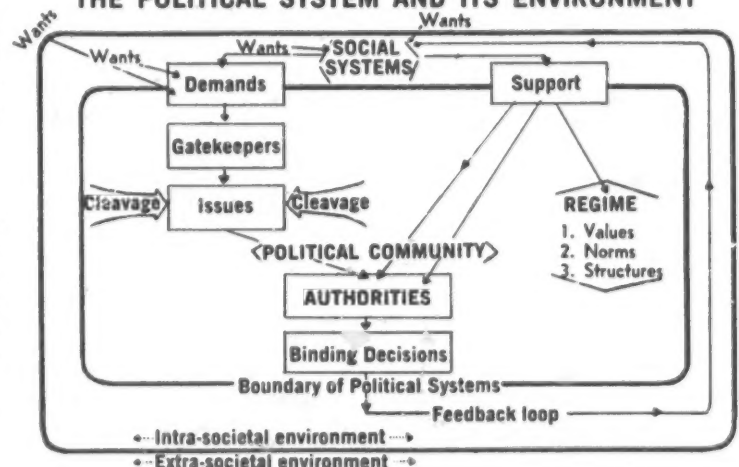
Political community No political system can continue to operate unless its members are prepared to participate in a division of political labor, through which it is possible to produce authoritative alloca-

tions of valued things. We call the group of persons who share this division of labor the political community. In modern times the most common type of political community is the nation state. In the

(Continued on page 100)

DAVID COLLIER, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, wrote this article in consultation with DAVID EASTON, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, Illinois

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ITS ENVIRONMENT



ocial studies

the society in which it operates. Finally, certain family members, similar to political authorities in society, have the responsibility to make binding decisions.

In the community children see the drama of political life unfolding. Who are the decision makers? Children will be surprised at the number of individuals and groups who have regulatory powers within a city—the mayor, the council, the park board, school board, zoning commission, and many more. What are the special areas in which each can make rules? How have their decisions over a period of time reflected changing values within the city? For example, in most communities schools have been receiving an increasing share of the tax dollar, reflecting the increasing value people have placed upon formal education.

While studying the city, children should discover that we allocate to authorities decision-making responsibilities for those things upon which we as a community place a very high value. We value free movement around the city,

so we delegate to the government the power to build and maintain roads. Sometimes we do not agree on what are the most important values. When a proposed road means the destruction of a park or other valued property, a conflict in values causes a cleavage. Other instances of current political issues may be gleaned from newspaper accounts, or talks with various civic leaders, party leaders, and government representatives. These sources may reveal differences of opinion and ways they may be resolved.

History and geography offer examples of political systems in action. Classes studying Indians may compare their political systems with ours. Parallels may be drawn to countries where tribal governments, as in the Congo, are still powerful and where there results a weak sense of political community.

In American history the growth of the President's cabinet shows how the structure of government changes to meet increasing demands. Why are political parties so important when they are not mentioned in the Constitution?

How do such constitutional amendments as the Thirteenth and Nineteenth reflect changes in the values of the American people? These questions can prove to be very stimulating to the pupils in upper elementary grades.

Nations may be compared in their methods of making binding decisions. How responsive are the authorities to the desires of the people? How do nations differ in what their people feel are important roles for their government? How can we resolve international issues without resorting to armed conflict?

By tying our presentation to the conceptual relationships Collier and Easton present, we might hope that children will look upon politics as a never ending drama—that in the final analysis there is no final analysis. May we also hope that each pupil will replace his apathy with interest and actively seek his political role as a member of our society.

JOSEPH A. RUEFF is Coordinator, Economic Education Project, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana

What political science is

(Continued from page 53)

United States the political community gains its coherence from the desire to continue as a unit in the political solution of its problems.

The political community suffers stress when its support decreases, as in the case of deep cleavages which cannot be resolved or reduced. The American Civil War is an example of such a cleavage.

Regime Regime refers to the type of political system that is shared by the political community. The regime represents expectations with regard to the range of matters that can be handled politically, the rules or norms governing the ways these matters are processed, and the powers and duties of those who make binding decisions. The regime thus has three components: values, norms, and structure of authority. Whereas the political community is more concrete, as in the example of the nation state, the components of the regime are more abstract standards of political behavior.

1. *Values* are the broad limits with regard to what must be taken for granted in the guidance of policy, if we are not to violate deep feelings of parts of the political community. Values are important because of the outer limits they impose on political action, rather than because of any specific political objectives they suggest. Examples of such values in the American political system are freedom, equal opportunity, and maximum popular participation in politics.

2. *Norms* are the more specific procedures that are expected in the processing of demands. They concern not only the actions of the authorities, but the behavior of all of the members of the political system.

Some norms are based on custom, such as an implicit agreement that religious differences will not be raised to the level of political conflict. Other norms have a formal, legal nature, such as the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

Loss of support or stress may occur when there is a discrepancy between the legal and customary norms, as in the case of equality before the law, which, though a legal norm, is customarily not carried out in practice for all groups. As a result, serious stress brought about a formal allocation which guaranteed nondiscrimination in public education, public facilities, and voting.

3. *The structure of authority* is the form of government, and specifies the roles and relationships through which power and authority are distributed and exercised. Such

alternatives as presidential versus parliamentary systems and the relation of armed forces to political power are included here. In the United States, many issues are raised to challenge the structure of authority, such as the independent policy of the Federal Reserve System and the power of the President to make unilateral decisions.

Authorities These are the persons who occupy the roles established in the structure of authority. They govern and must be able to mobilize support for themselves. Stress for the authorities may consist of the refusal by some portion of the society to accept their right to rule. Congressional impeachment of the President is an example.

Kinds of support

Now that the objects to be supported have been described, and examples given of possible stress for each object, we can specify two kinds of support that underpin the authorities, regime, and political community.

Specific support is generated when outputs are perceived by members of the political system as meeting their demands. If people are regularly satisfied with what a government does, we can assume that they will not withdraw their support from the regime or political community.

Diffuse support is not based on the satisfaction of particular demands, but is built up out of a general feeling of good will toward the political system. Patriotism, loyalty, or attachment roughly expresses the kind of sentiment referred to here. These feelings tend to be directed more to the community and regime, though from there they may overflow into the authority level.

Diffuse support is very important when the authorities must make decisions that are unpopular, in the form, for example, of unwanted taxes or in forms of regulated behavior. Though diffuse support is not tied to particular outputs, a long period of output failure may stress it. In the face of such stress the authorities may seek to generate good will by 1) instilling a deep sense of legitimacy, showing that they hold office and make decisions within the norms and structure set forth in the regime; 2) invoking symbols such as the flag or national anthem to stimulate in the members feelings of loyalty; or 3) strengthening the degree of identification by members of the system within the political community through an

awareness of some common interest of the society.

Feedback The central dynamic concept of our analysis of the political system is *feedback*. When we say that the political system is a feedback system, we mean that it is self-regulating. If a system responds to a demand with a particular output, and the demand continues, it may learn through information fed back to the authorities that the original output was inadequate, and it may try another one. By considering, through feedback, the successes or failures of its action, the authorities acting for a system can shape its outputs with reference not only to present demands, but also to how well previous outputs have satisfied such demands.

The *feedback loop* on the diagram is indicated by the line leading from "binding decisions" to "social systems," and through "wants" back to "demand," at which point the political process begins again. This feedback loop represents the idea that each new output is made as a response not only to a single demand, but to a whole previous cycle of inputs and outputs, and even many such cycles.

The conception of politics as a feedback system focuses our attention on the great cycle of inputs and outputs. It allows us to see the political system as a vast conversion process that regulates itself in order to persist. This idea of persistence brings us back to the function of the political system: to regulate conflict in society by authoritatively allocating valued things over which there would otherwise be uncontrolled dispute. Beyond making such allocations at a particular point in time, it is clearly the function of the political system to persist in its order-maintaining role as long as the society itself persists, and even to help prolong the life of the society through its own persistence.

The task of the schools is to emphasize fundamental processes and relationships rather than isolated, separate facts. If students are indeed ready for the study of political life at a much earlier age than previously thought, then this theory of the political system may offer a useful, coherent, and systematic basis for presentation of political materials in elementary school.

This article is based on work done as part of a curriculum project of the Social Science Education Consortium. The project is directed by Professor Lawrence Senesh of Purdue University.

Section 5

CONFERENCES, VISITS AND OTHER
SCHOLARLY LIAISON

CONFERENCES, VISITS AND OTHER SCHOLARLY LIAISON

Visits

During the course of this contract, the Director of the Consortium has had personal contact with almost every academically-based social science curriculum project in the country, in addition to some personal contact with a number of schools and teacher-education institutions. These contacts have been through visits at various institutions and at conferences. Colleges and universities visited include Michigan, Michigan State, Wayne State, Chicago, Wisconsin, Illinois, Webster, Washington, Northwestern, Colorado, Tufts, Indiana, and St. Louis. Schools visited include Elkhart and West Lafayette, Indiana; Webster Groves, St. Louis, and St. Louis County, Missouri; and Homewood Flossmoor, Illinois. Talks about social science education were given at the Tennessee Education Association, St. Louis University, Webster College, Lindberg School District (Missouri), West Lafayette (Indiana), Purdue University, and the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies.

The main purposes of the Director's visits were to obtain information about project work on social studies, to disseminate information about the Consortium and other work on problems of social science education, and to learn more about the problems and needs of projects and schools. The personal visits of the Director, together with those of the Teacher-Intern described below, were an important source of information and materials, and they have played an important part in building the communications network of the Consortium.

The personal contacts of the Executive Committee and Council members of the Consortium have also played an important part in building a network for liaison and cooperation, even though it would be hard to separate out the aspects of their work contributing to or aided by the Consortium. Many of these persons were already active in many aspects of social science education; some became more active and were able to contribute more and do more work because of their association with the Consortium.

Conferences

The Consortium participated, with financial assistance and personnel, in a workshop-seminar on curriculum evaluation, conducted by the Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation (CIRCE) at the University of Illinois on May 17-28, 1965. Professor Michael Scriven was a resource person and participant in a three-day section of the workshop that was devoted to

consideration of the theoretical framework of curriculum evaluation, and some of the results of these meetings are reflected in his paper on evaluation which was developed in large part under the current contract and is reported under Contract OE-6-10-327. Participants in the workshop were evaluation specialists affiliated with course-content-improvement projects from across the country. The overall theme of the workshop was the Evaluation of Cross-Curricular Objectives. Chairman of the conference was Professor Robert Stake, Associate Director of CIRCE.

Three Consortium members presented a program on "The Role of Values in the Social Studies" at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies in Miami, Florida, in November 1965. Wilbur Brookover, Professor of Sociology and Education and Director of the Social Science Teaching Institute at Michigan State University, gave a talk on "Values in Social Studies Teaching: A Pilot Survey," in which he presented some preliminary findings from the Consortium work which he conducted on the preparation and attitudes of social studies teachers (described in the SSEC report on Contract OE-6-10-327). Ronald Lippitt, Professor of Sociology and Psychology at the University of Michigan, reported some of the work from his elementary curriculum project in a speech on "Value Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom." Irving Morrissett, Professor of Economics at Purdue and Director of the SSEC, spoke on "Approaches to Values in Education," basing his remarks in part on the work done by Professor Michael Scriven for the Consortium and described in the report on Contract OE-6-10-327.

The Consortium cooperated with the Purdue Educational Research Center in sponsoring a series of colloquia on the general theme, "Curriculum Reform and the Social Sciences." The meetings were planned for the benefit of classroom teachers in the surrounding area, students in teacher training at Purdue, and Purdue staff members in education and the social sciences. The three colloquia planned during the period of this contract, plus one that followed in the series but came after the close of the contract, were as follows:

"Problems in Social Science Education."

Speaker: Dr. Ralph Tyler, Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

"The Philosophy of Social Science Education."

Speaker: Huston Smith, Chairman and Professor, Department of Philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

"The Structure of History and the New Curricula."

Speaker: Edwin Fenton, Professor of History and
Co-Director, Curriculum Development Center,
Carnegie Institute of Technology.

"Teacher's Dilemma: Values in the Curriculum."

Speakers: Donald Oliver, Professor of Education and
Director, Social Studies Curriculum Center,
Harvard University.

Michael Scriven, Professor of the History
and Philosophy of Science, Indiana University.

Following presentations and questions at each of the first three colloquia, a small invited group of teachers, educators and social scientists participated in a follow-up round table with the speaker, directed primarily to the question of what the topic implied for their own professional interests and future. The fourth colloquium consisted of two open sessions totalling about three and a half hours of presentations, informal debate, and discussion. Attendance at the meetings varied from about 60 to 200, and participation in the discussion periods was in general very active.

The meetings of the SSEC Council in October 1964 and December 1965 not only served the purpose of getting the business of the Consortium done, but also provided an opportunity for both systematic and informal exchange of information on the activities of Council members. About half of each of the meetings was devoted to reports on, and discussion of, the curriculum and curriculum-related work of members. At the meeting of December 1965, a number of project directors or representatives who were not members of the Council were invited to participate in the discussions, and were later invited to become members of the Council.

An activity of the Consortium that seemed to strike a most responsive chord was the conference of January 1966 on "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula." The conference was held at Purdue, and was attended by fifty-five persons, about half of whom were from social science curriculum projects, the other half consisting of classroom teachers, principals, curriculum directors, university educators, and social scientists not members of curriculum projects. We feel that conferences of this type represent one of the most important needs to be met by the Consortium. Curriculum project people have ample opportunities to talk with their colleagues in their own project, and more than enough opportunities to speak to outside groups about their work; but opportunities to confront one another, and to talk with

teachers and curriculum people as a group, are rare. The enthusiasm evoked by the conference, and the important need it met, is shown in the letters from participants that come at the end of this section. A preliminary account of the conference, written under Contract OE-6-10-327, is included in the report on that contract. A book of conference proceedings will be published in June.

Other Liaison Activities

There are numerous ways in which the SSEC has stimulated greater communication and interaction between people working in the various fields related to social science curriculum change. In this subsection, we will describe some of those activities about which we have specific knowledge, for which the Consortium was responsible in large or small part.

Several members of the Consortium assisted the Birmingham, Michigan schools in an extensive program of revision in their social studies curriculum, in arranging for consultants needed in the revision processes, and in setting up an in-service training program including the establishment and staffing of special credit courses administered by three nearby universities. A letter from Mrs. E. Steven Bauer, Coordinator of Social Studies in Birmingham, and an outline of the in-service training program, are included at the end of this subsection.

Through the Consortium, arrangements were made for a fruitful interchange of ideas, including a day of interproject visitation of the University of Illinois Project Social Studies and the University of Michigan Social Science Education Project. A letter from Dr. Ella C. Leppert, Director of the Social Science Curriculum Study Center at the University of Illinois, describing the pertinent events, is included at the end of this subsection.

As a result of his attendance at the January Consortium conference, the Coordinator of Instruction at Ladue (St. Louis), Missouri, was put in touch with three sources of ideas and materials which met particular needs of his system. A letter from the coordinator, Mr. Franklin P. Morley, describing these contacts, is included at the end of this subsection.

Members of the Consortium worked with the Addison-Wesley Publishing Company in their search for a talented advisory committee to help them launch a major new effort in the production of social studies materials, and several members of the Consortium are members of that advisory group.

Many of us in the Consortium feel that one of the outstanding services we

have performed for social science education has been the enlistment of Michael Scriven's talents in several aspects of the work. Professor Scriven is one of the country's most outstanding philosophers of science--a field to which one might not normally look for assistance in developing social science education. In addition to the work he has done on evaluation and values, which led to four papers which are included in the report on Contract OE-6-10-327, Professor Scriven has made a number of other contributions. He has developed classroom materials on scientific method with a view to use in social studies classes, and is currently working toward the development of curricula and classroom materials for teaching critical thinking and value analysis, with particular reference to the social sciences. Many of his other professional activities in the last two years have been a direct or indirect result of his association with the Consortium, including papers given on topics related to social science education at the University of Alberta, Michigan State University, Northwestern University and Educational Testing Services, and work with the Addison-Wesley social studies group and the World Law Fund secondary school education board.

Letters Concerning Other Liaison Activities

C O P Y

U N I V E R S I T Y O F C I N C I N N A T I
Department of Geography
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221

February 3, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

This is to emphasize my enthusiasm for the recent conference on "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula." I got a great deal out of it and I hope that I made at least some small contribution.

I hope that you will not consider this to be the last effort you should make in this direction. Instead, I think you, or some similar group, should try to promote such dialogue with conferences of this type at fairly frequent intervals. We have a lot to learn from each other.

Sincerely,

Robert B. McNee, Head

H I G H S C H O O L G E O G R A P H Y P R O J E C T
Of The Association of American Geographers

University of Colorado

Boulder, Colorado 80304
February 7, 1966

Dear Professor Morrisett:

May I take this opportunity to express my thanks as well as those of Ann Manheim for the splendid job you and your staff did in carrying out the recent conference on "Concept and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula." I can't begin to enumerate the ways in which that conference will benefit those of us of the High School Geography Project staff.

We would like to echo the sentiment expressed by many others at the meeting that this should be only the first in a series of such conferences.

Warmest regards,

G. Vuicich
Assistant Director

C O P Y

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
College of Education
Athens, Georgia 30601

February 11, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

The recent Social Science Education Consortium which you conducted at Purdue was doubtlessly the most beneficial professional meeting that I have ever attended. I am still in the process of sharing ideas with my colleagues here with the University of Georgia's Project Anthropology. All of us connected with this project are anxiously looking forward to receiving a résumé of the proceedings of the Consortium when they are finally published.

We are completing our second and fifth grade units on Pre-History and Archeology and when they are finished we will send you complimentary copies.

We hope that it will be possible for Bill Stevens to visit our project later in the year. We will correspond with you at a later date concerning this eventuality.

Thank you once again for allowing Project Anthropology to be represented at the Consortium.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar T. Jarvis

cc: Dr. Marion J. Rice
Director Project Anthropology

COPY

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

CENTER FOR INSTRUCTIONAL RESEARCH
AND CURRICULUM EVALUATION (CIRCE)

270 Education Building
Urbana, Illinois 61803
Area Code 217 333-3771

February 3, 1966

Dear Professor Morrissett:

The SSEC Conference on Concepts and Structure was a valuable educational experience in clarifying the different ways persons perceive structure, the concerns for implementation that so many have, the many needs for evaluation, and the problems of teaching about values and developing values. The Conference was extremely successful in bringing together at least a small band (band not to be confused with orchestra) of persuasive, creative, perceptive spokesmen. The heterogeneity of the audience added to the likelihood that we would disseminate these many ideas broadly, but the same heterogeneity (and drive) rendered many of the audience reactions divisive and "personal" rather than cohesive and general.

There are four (Schwab says three) perceived structures of a discipline: (1) professional specialties, (2) linkage of concepts, (3) methods and activities, (4) topics and instances. There was little consensus at this meeting on which to build curricula. What a curriculum is built on and what are its countenance and outcomes may be -- perhaps should be -- very different lists. The difference was not often recognized, it seemed, and I was a bit disappointed in this.

The quality of the papers was very high. You did a very good job of assigning topics and arranging speakers. The amount of time set aside for discussion could not have been improved upon. Your personal contribution as host was appreciated very much.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which says better than I was saying what can be wrong with a behavior-oriented curriculum project. It may be that the world needs more, not less, behavioral orientation at this time -- but I am guessing now that "process" may be the educational folly of our time.

Thanks very much for a provocative and illuminating weekend.

Cordially,

Robert E. Stake
Associate Director

C O P Y

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Bloomington, Indiana 47405

Coordinator
For School Social Studies

101 Lindley Hall
Area Code 812
Tel. No. 337-3584

January 31, 1966

Dear Professor Morrissett:

I was unable to really say thanks for the opportunity to attend the conference. Things got a bit hectic as everyone dashed for an airplane yesterday afternoon. I certainly feel that such an exchange of views between the people at the conference was very useful, and will pay long-range dividends. I would also very much endorse the idea of future conferences focusing on materials such as learning theory, the school as an institution, etc., as these relate to the new social studies curriculum. Hopefully, someone will see fit to fund such meetings. It would certainly be a small investment compared to the vast amounts being spent by the projects. I also hope that at some point serious attention can be given to dissemination and implementation of project materials. Thanks again--it was a very good meeting.

Sincerely,

Gerald W. Marker
Coordinator for School Social Studies

C O P Y

U N I V E R S I T Y O F

M I N N E S O T A

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION • DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455

February 4, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

Thank you for your invitation to join the SSEC meeting last weekend. The conference was most provocative and valuable, and I most certainly welcomed the opportunity to attend.

I noticed that several persons present were interested substantially in the evaluation of curriculum development projects. Perhaps the topic for a future meeting might be the problems and prospects in curriculum evaluation. I know that the SSEC has dealt with the topic previously (i.e. Scriven's thoughtful treatment), but the time is rapidly approaching when considerable attention needs to be focused on evaluative techniques and questions peculiar to curriculum projects.

Incidentally, if there were papers distributed on Saturday, would you mail me a set. I plan to see Edith West tomorrow and will encourage her to send our PSS materials to you.

Sincerely,

William E. Gardner

C O P Y

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

February 2, 1966

Dear Professor Morrisett:

This letter is to congratulate you and your staff on the excellent conference "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula."

I attach great importance to this conference because it was the first to gather together, on such a large scale, those who are working in this field. It allowed an exchange of views and information that had not yet occurred.

As you know, I think the U. S. Office of Education has not been an efficient guardian of the large public funds it has spent for social science curriculum reform largely because it has not spent the small extra amounts which would save time, money, and overlapping and duplicated efforts. Your conference remedied some of this.

I also attach great importance to such efforts as these because they show how cooperation can proceed in educational matters--something that will be much more important in the years ahead especially in view of the plans and funds available for regional laboratories. Unless efficient means for working together are found, much of the money that will be spent here will not be so usefully spent as it might have been. Your conference showed one way that cooperation and dissemination can proceed.

Thanks again for your service to education.

Sincerely,

P. R. Senn
Consultant

C O P Y

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

inter office memorandum

To Professor Irving Morrisett
From M. Endres
Subject

February 4, 1966

Thank you very much for the opportunity to attend the conference sponsored by the Social Science Education Consortium on January 29 and 30. It was a good conference. I learned a great deal there. I believe that others who attended learned a great deal from the papers presented and from each other.

Without a doubt the objective of developing communication among the projects was fulfilled.

I am not so sure that we moved a great deal further in refining the concepts and structures of the social sciences, but we did do a great deal of thinking about it and became informed about how concepts and structures are defined by the respective projects.

I, with others, hope that this or a similar kind of study-discussion conference can continue. It would seem to me that we must very seriously address ourselves to the following problems all related to bringing about change in classroom practices.

1. How do we go about helping school systems of various sizes, located in all kinds of communities, with teachers of varying backgrounds of preparation and competencies make decisions about which program to use?
2. How can we go about adapting materials and methodology for use in the specific school system?
3. How can we evaluate the effectiveness of the programs?

Thank you again for the opportunity to participate in this conference. Be assured that I would like to be included in any future planning.

M. Endres

C O P Y

P U R D U E U N I V E R S I T Y

inter office memorandum

To Professor Irving Morrisett
From W. Crowder
Subject The Conference

Just a word to thank you for inviting me to the recent conference which the Consortium sponsored. I now feel more heartened about the prospects for improving instruction in the social sciences than I have in quite some time.

As you know I was a bit skeptical at first but am now convinced that the scholarly investigations of subject matter experts hold great promise for upgrading the elementary program. It seems to me that continued communication between education departments and your Consortium will serve to strengthen this link you have forged.

I should wish to add a word of commendation to you for the planning and conduct of the conference. I felt that you allotted just enough time for reports and that the time for evaluation of them was appropriate. You did not permit any one person or area to dominate the discussion, instead, all were given a chance to be heard.

Hopefully, in the future, your Consortium will plan other conferences of this kind to bring together the experts in the social sciences and curriculum directors.

Sincerely,
Bill

S O C I O L O G I C A L
R E S O U R C E S F O R
S E C O N D A R Y
S C H O O L S

Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

February 1, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

Thank you very much for enabling me to attend the conference on Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula. I found it a most interesting and enlightening experience.

Sincerely yours,
William M. Hering, Jr.
Assistant to the Director

C O P Y

S T. S C H O L A S T I C A H I G H S C H O O L
7416 RIDGE BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60645

February 6, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

Now that we've had time to catch our breath after the two-day meeting on Jan. 29 and 30, I want you to know how very fine I thought it was. Bringing together all those persons who are most concerned with and involved in curriculum development should have exciting results. One of the best aspects of the two days was, I thought, the diversity of opinion expressed on almost every point.

The one hope after such a session is that similar discussions and presentations of material will be possible from time to time. The general emphasis was positive, and, as a result, the thinking of the participants must have been sharpened considerably.

On the Thursday of this last week I attended a research seminar conducted by members of the faculty of Northwestern University. It was aimed at bringing together the social science disciplines and the school of education. I attended the Anthropology and the Political Science sections, (Peter Senn was the reactor on the Economics panel.)

Thanks for the stimulating week-end which came off so well. My mind is in ferment, and I've already made a recommendation for next year here at our school.

I hope the Consortium will continue on in the efforts made thus far. Obviously there is a need for such work and for the communication of results with others working along similar lines in the country.

Again, congratulations.

Sincerely,
Sister M. Mercedes
O.S.B.

C O P Y

DADE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADMINISTRATION OFFICES
LINDSEY HOPKINS BUILDING
1410 N. E. 2nd Avenue Miami, Florida 33132

February 3, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrissett:

I wish to thank you for the opportunity of participating in the stimulating intellectual experience of last weekend, the Social Science Consortium. It was to someone connected with public education a change to assess the progress of experts in the field in identifying structural consistencies within disciplines.

I appreciate your office's efficiency in every way; the copies of the position papers with which I'm intrigued, the many kindnesses extended to the group, the royal send-off at Lake Central! People may speak of southern hospitality, but have they been north?

I do hope that the ideas for future meetings will be able to be implemented. The total task seems to consist of more than disciplinary structural analysis. The teaching act, the learning process, materials, means of evaluating what we thought we've done - these seem to be pertinent areas for exploration.

Sincerely,

Margot J. Silverman
Assistant Supervisor
Social Studies Department

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
Of Greater Cleveland

Rockefeller Bldg., 4th Floor • Cleveland 13, Ohio • Telephone: 241-0781

February 7, 1966

Dear Professor Morrissett:

I just want to let you know once again how much I appreciated the SSEC Conference on January 29-30. It was extraordinarily useful to me to find out what was going on in various projects and to see the many facets of our common problems.

Everything was beautifully organized, and, knowing full well how much effort goes into such organization, I want to thank you and your staff for all the trouble you had taken.

Best wishes. Do come and see us if you're near Cleveland.

Yours sincerely,

Raymond English
Program Director - GCSSP

C O P Y

F L O S S M O O R P U B L I C S C H O O L S
FLOSSMOOR, ILLINOIS 60422

February 9, 1966

Dear Mr. Morrisett:

The conference on Concepts and Structure In The New Social Science Curricula was without question outstanding. The format of arranging key speakers followed by general discussion and interspersed with small panel groups to focus the interchanges was highly effective. Providing pleasant meals and surroundings enabled the conversations to continue unabated throughout the weekend. I would hope such conferences could be set up from time to time to maintain such productive interchanges rather than divergent groups proceeding with formal pronouncements, less focused discussion or commercial competition at this stage.

As an elementary principal I gained a much clearer overview of the projects underway and the individuals and ideas that are guiding them. We in the public schools are eager to understand the thinking behind these projects, to examine the proposed materials and to use them and provide feedback on carefully worked out materials. The understanding of the concepts and underlying assumptions is extremely basic to the entire venture and was well served by this effort.

Thank you for a very worthwhile contribution in helping these key people focus on our common concerns in the area of the social studies.

Sincerely,

Donald H. Austin, Principal
Leavitt Avenue School

C O P Y

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF LADUE

SPOEDE SCHOOL
425 N. Spoede Road
St. Louis, Missouri 63141

Office Of The
Principal

Monday, January 31, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

Although back in the "routine" once more, I still have not recovered from the thrill of attending your wonderful SSEC Conference this past weekend. As I told you several times, I considered it a real privilege to be invited.

All the people I met were so friendly and kind, and the contributions made during and outside of the meetings were real "pearls of wisdom" I hope to pass along to our group at Spoede School.

I was so impressed with the organization of the entire conference. Everything was so well planned and seemed to run so smoothly. You are to be congratulated on executing a successful endeavor.

The number attending and the set-up of our meeting room provided a good "open-discussion" atmosphere I found so interesting and helpful.

I hope to see you continue with this group in a follow-up meeting as work progresses. And wouldn't I be the lucky one to be there if you do!

Please remember me to your wife. It was such a pleasure meeting both of you. I certainly hope our paths shall cross again in the future.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,
Judy Miller

P.S. Please let Kitty Elbring know how much we all appreciated her hospitality and efficiency. She is a grand person!

C O P Y

JOINT COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC EDUCATION

1212 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036

Telephone: JUdson 2-5150

February 9, 1966.

Dear Professor Morrissett:

I must tell you how pleased I was to have been a participant in your fine conference on "Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula." On behalf of the Joint Council, let me extend our appreciation for your invitation.

Needless to say, I think the Social Science Education Consortium has the potential of becoming a most significant moving force in curriculum development. I sincerely hope that finance will not be a limiting factor and that the idea of regional consortia will come into existence.

I would very much like to maintain a personal contact with you and SSEC activities. I assume that each of the participants in the recent conference will be added to your Newsletter mailing list.

Thanks again for providing a most stimulating experience for me. My best personal regards,

Cordially,

S. Stowell Symmes
Staff Associate
DEEP Curriculum Specialist

THE METROPOLITAN ST. LOUIS SOCIAL STUDIES CENTER
St. Louis, Mo. 63130

Graduate Institute of Education
Washington University
McMillan Hall

February 8, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrissett:

I found the conference last week to be of great value. I have generally found conferences to be a waste of time; this one was an outstanding exception. I thought that there was at this conference what is exceedingly rare - clarification of a number of several critical curriculum issues. I hope you consider future conferences and publication of the proceedings. A number of issues that were raised should be explored further. The importance of the curriculum projects developing explicit, detailed rationale for their curriculum decisions cannot, in my opinion, be overestimated. I hope that this is one of the topics for a subsequent conference.

Sincerely,

Harold Berlak

C O P Y

H I G H S C H O O L G E O G R A P H Y P R O J E C T
Of The Association Of American Geographers

University of Colorado

Boulder, Colorado 80304

February 3, 1966

Dear Professor Morrisett:

George told me he has written to express appreciation for your invitation to Lafayette. I'd like to add my thanks to his.

The Conference was a bias-breaking education. Some problems that were bothersome before are now more clear to me. Other matters that never bothered me before now bother me much. But this is, perhaps, the "optimum frustration" for learning?

I must express my admiration for you and your staff for your deft competence with the nuts & bolts of the meeting. I was totally comfortable, thanks to your efficient confusion-prevention. Please express my gratitude to Kitty and Bill.

Your desire for more cooperation amongst us revolutionaries is shared here. Please let me know if I can be of any help to you. 'Twould give me great pleasure.

With thanks,
Anne Manheim

Letters Concerning the Conference on
"Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula"

C O P Y

B I R M I N G H A M P U B L I C S C H O O L S
BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN

Board of Education

March 18, 1966

Dr. Irving Morrissett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
Central Office
Purdue University
427 Wood Street
West Lafayette, Indiana

Dear Dr. Morrissett:

I should like to report to you on the involvement of the Birmingham, Michigan Public Schools with the Social Science Education Consortium. Our involvement to date has been three-fold: general advice from the members of the Consortium to our Birmingham Social Studies curriculum development; actual contracting with several members of the Consortium for the in-service training of our Birmingham teachers; consultant services to the Social Studies Steering Committee in developing a K-12 framework.

It is very difficult in this period of rapid change in the Social Studies for a school system, even with a full-time coordinator, to keep abreast of what is sound and helpful in all that is being done. The Consortium has given me points of contact with many of the scholars involved in social science research and, therefore, in change in the Social Studies. The fact that these scholars are in continual communication with each other makes them more knowledgeable in areas which relate to their own research as well as in the implications of the research for actual change in school curriculum.

I am enclosing the announcement of the second Social Studies In-Service Course which is being offered by members of the Consortium working as a team. If it were not for the Consortium, I doubt that an inter-university course for credit would have been philosophically or mechanically possible.

Our intent in this course was to make available to teachers first-hand the research which has such significant implications for Social Studies in the schools. As you can see from the format of the course for the winter semester, we have actually set up a series of meetings which allow teachers to hear directly from the research scientist what the results of his research have been and then to have the opportunity under the direction of that scholar to apply the research to his own classroom. This course serves two purposes:

- It allows teachers to enter into the conversation at the "frontier" without feeling that they are completely left out of the decision-making which will occur as a result of this research.

C O P Y

Dr. Irving Morrissett

March 18, 1966

Page 2

--It also makes it possible for teachers to "practice" and "discover" for themselves the validity of the assumptions being made. We are getting both background information and actual change in a unique package.

The people taking the course are clustered so that there will be more than one "change agent" in each building; some of these people will be involved in further workshops during the summer actually planning courses of study which will incorporate the findings of the research.

My job becomes one of practical follow-up in the buildings during the year and in the summer workshops with teachers.

The three men from the Institute for Social Research are acting as consultants to our Social Studies Steering Committee in planning a framework and basis for curriculum development for the school district. This will also serve a double purpose as they will advise us on the dynamics of working as a committee for system-wide involvement and innovation.

To date the degree of involvement of Birmingham with the Consortium has depended on the exceptional although temporary resources of the Birmingham School System for tax money to back research and development and on the professional friendship of the members of the Consortium in offering their advice and support without a formal business arrangement with the Birmingham School System. I would hope that in the future there would be some way for school systems to be able to work with this remarkable collection of "scholars who share" upon a firm business basis that will not depend so on the vagaries of millage and rising building costs. If we could afford a series of consulting relationships with the Consortium for a period of three to five years, I believe we could actually produce a K-12 new Social Studies with staff involvement and community support that could serve as a model to others.

My congratulations to the Consortium for initiating the pooling of knowledge and the sharing with educators so necessary to efficient, productive educational systems in this country.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. E. Steven Bauer
Coordinator of Social Studies

Enclosure 1

C O P Y

BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC SCHOOL

January 28, 1966

To: All Elementary Teachers and all Social Studies Teachers in Secondary Level

From: Daniel A. Nesbitt, Deputy Superintendent

Re: SOCIAL STUDIES INSERVICE COURSE - WINTER TERM, 1966

Titles: University of Michigan

Psychology or Sociology 686 - Practicum in Planned Change.

Wayne State University

Sociology 0796 - Research or Education 6014 - Local School Curriculum Planning - Dynamics of Planned Change.

Michigan State University

Education 881 - Workshop in Education - Social Studies Teaching

Purpose: To acquaint teachers K-12 with the research findings on which Social Studies will be based.

To allow teachers an opportunity to apply these findings to their own classes under the direction of the university scholars who have done the research.

Time: Ten 3-hour sessions - 7-10 p.m. Tuesdays, beginning February 15.
No meeting during spring vacation.

Location: Groves High School, Room E-7. (Use west parking lot off 13 Mile Road.)

Credit: Three term-hours or two semester-hours. Students will pay all tuition costs. Application for \$10.00 per semester reimbursement may be filed upon successful completion of the course (file on form B-82.)

Faculty: University of Michigan

Dr. Ronald Lippitt, Professor of Psychology and Sociology;
Program Director, Institute of Social Research

Dr. Robert Fox, Professor of Education, Director of Laboratory Schools

Mr. Charles Jung, Acting Project Director, Institute for Social Research

Michigan State University

Dr. Wilbur Brookover, Professor of Education; Director, Social Science Teaching Institute

Wayne State University

Dr. Irving Sigel, Adjunct Professor of Psychology; Chairman of Research, Merrill-Palmer Institute

Plan: There will be 5 pairs of sessions. Each professor will conduct a pair. The first session of each pair will focus on research findings and necessary background in one area of concern to social studies teachers.

C O P Y

SOCIAL STUDIES INSERVICE COURSE - WINTER TERM, 1966 -- continued page 2.

At the end of the first session of the pair there will be an opportunity for the teachers to meet in a small "sharing group" to plan a two-week application of the research topic to their own classroom.

The second session of each pair will consider progress reports on the two-week plan. There will be opportunity to confer with the professor as well as with the "sharing group."

Topics: The five topics and dates of the paired sessions will be:

February 15, 22

Social Studies in Perspective, Dr. Robert Fox

What has brought on today's debate and new direction? What are the questions that have been raised? What evidence is there that the questions being asked are valid?

March 1, 8

Classroom Process, Mr. Charles Jung

What does research tell us about organizing the classroom?
Selecting classroom practices in order to facilitate learning?

March 15, 22

Individual Process, Dr. Wilbur Brookover

What do we know about individuals that affects learning? How can we implement what is known?

March 29, April 5

Methods of Stimulating Inquiry, Dr. Irving Sigel

To teach students a way of thinking and methods of solving problems. To develop teaching techniques and methods to promote learning in the social studies.

Easter Recess

April 19, 26

Dynamics of Change

How can we plan creatively to bring about more effective learning in our classes? What roles should teachers, administrators, parents, etc., play?

Requirements for credit and basis for grades:

There will be no term paper or final examination.

Credits and grades will be determined by:

1. Attendance
2. Five written reports on the application of the research findings to the teacher's own setting.

Priority: Priority for enrollment will go to those who have responsibility for planning and evaluation of social studies curriculum and practice:

Social Studies Steering Committee (Includes department chairmen)
Teachers and principals in schools presently involved in pilot programs
Teachers who wish to work on curriculum - summer 1966 under the
Birmingham Plan

C O P Y

1212 West Springfield, Urbana, Illinois 61803

UNIVERSITY HIGH SCHOOL

January 19, 1966

Professor Irving Morrissett, Director
Social Science Education Consortium
404 Hayes Street
West Lafayette, Indiana

Dear Professor Morrissett:

As director of the Social Science Education Consortium, it may be of some interest to you to know that our project staff has availed itself of the resources made available to us as a cooperating project center associated with the Social Science Education Consortium.

We have reached a point in the development of our first course materials when consultant help from an authority in the behavioral sciences would be helpful to us in reviewing our materials and indicating whether or not they might be improved if attention were given to the processes of social interaction.

With this objective in mind, Roland Payette, Research Associate and Specialist in Evaluation on the Illinois project, William Rogge, Director, Illinois Demonstration Center for Gifted Youth, and I met with Professor Ronald Lippitt, Director, Michigan Social Science Education Project, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, December 23, 1965. Materials for examination were sent in advance of the conference day.

Professor Lippitt and Fox were most helpful in responding constructively to our questions and in suggesting ways in which behavior specimens might be identified in the Family Unit to use role playing as one way of providing learning experience in social interaction and group analysis.

We also shared developments to date on instructional materials, and about the introduction of the new materials in cooperating schools with attention to the problem of teacher preparation. Professor Lippitt discussed the rationale of the Michigan materials and we shared our experience here at Illinois in the development and trial use of evaluation instruments for our new materials.

We look forward to follow-up conferences with Professors Lippitt and Fox, as we make revisions in our materials and find ways of communicating our insights to teachers and directors in our demonstration centers.

Sincerely yours,

Ella C. Leppert, Director
Social Science Curriculum Study Center

cc: Dean David M. Jackson
Dr. William Rogge

C O P Y

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF LADUE

9703 Conway Road
St. Louis 24, Missouri

Office of The
Coordinator of Instruction

March 7, 1966

Dear Dr. Morrisett:

I have just been studying two papers which Professor Herbert Feigl sent to me at my request. This for me is a significant follow-up experience of my participation in the January 29-30, Conference of the Social Science Education Consortium, Purdue University. The particular problem we are pursuing in Ladue revolves around the question of how to deal with social values as a part of social studies instruction. Professor Feigl's paper, "Aims of Education for Our Age of Science, Reflections of a Logical Empiricist," is a definitive statement on this problem which I am finding very helpful.

I also want to mention that we have ordered, received and put to use copies of Taba's Handbook and Greater Cleveland's outlining their comprehensive social studies curriculum.

Please accept my sincere thanks for the opportunity to participate in the January conference. More power to you and your staff in this endeavor.

Sincerely,
Franklin P. Morley

Section 6

THE TEACHER-INTERN PROGRAM

THE TEACHER-INTERN PROGRAM

A. THE CONSORTIUM VIEW

Irving Morrissett
Director, SSEC

Introduction

During the academic year 1965-66, Mr. Walter W. Stevens, Jr., has served as an intern at the Central Office of the Consortium at Purdue University. Mr. Stevens has taught social studies at the secondary level for eight years, and is on sabbatical leave from his school, the Homewood-Flossmoor (Illinois) High School. He made the difficult choice between working with the Consortium in this capacity and undertaking formal graduate work. Both he and we have considered the intern program in which he is participating as an unqualified success. I think it is worth giving a fairly detailed account of this experience, because we hope that it will become a model for similar internships with the Consortium and with other projects all over the country.

In the first part of this section, the intern program is described from the viewpoint of the Consortium; in the latter part, Mr. Stevens gives his own views on the program.

It would have been possible for Mr. Stevens to undertake a part-time graduate program at Purdue, but we decided together that this would create various conflicts between the two tasks, particularly but not exclusively on the matter of the travel that we considered an essential part of the program. Experience has confirmed the wisdom of that decision.

It is our judgment that the intern program has resulted in very substantial benefits to the Consortium, to Mr. Stevens, to his school, and to the projects that he has visited. These will be discussed in turn.

Benefits to the Consortium

1. Perhaps the most important benefit of the internship to the Consortium has been the presence of a person who is committed to the general purposes of the organization but who can serve as a friendly, informed critic of specific endeavors. An important task of the Consortium is to facilitate the organization and dissemination of information about social science disciplines, curriculum efforts, research, and related matters, to classroom teachers. Whatever the source of that information, it should be understandable, palatable and useful

to classroom teachers--three scores on which anyone, including (or especially?) university academicians, can easily fail. The presence of a friendly voice of experience, of perspective and of realism has been exceedingly useful.

2. At a more specific level, Mr. Stevens has carried the main responsibility for acquiring materials from curriculum projects. Much more than writing letters is involved in this work, if the materials are to include up-to-date information and working papers on the projects. Knowing what there is to be acquired, and then acquiring it, are both tasks that require close acquaintanceship with the work that is being done and the people who are doing it, and much of the acquisition of current materials was accomplished through personal visits to projects, visits of project personnel to the Consortium, and telephone calls.

3. Mr. Stevens also had the main responsibility for organizing project materials into a usable system which would permit acquisitions, limited borrowing, and retrieval of information in an efficient and flexible manner.

4. The small beginning that was made this year on a systematic, comparative analysis of curriculum project activities and materials was made by Mr. Stevens. A preliminary form for recording and analyzing information was worked out, and some work was accomplished in making analyses.

5. Finally, Mr. Stevens served an almost indispensable function as a utility man in an organization that has its share of peak loads and crises. Such activities would interfere with the major objectives of the internship if used to excess, but in moderation they may be of some educational advantage to the intern, and of tremendous practical advantage to the organization. In his capacity as a willing and flexible utility man, Mr. Stevens assisted in planning and conducting conferences, in writing and criticizing reports and proposals, and in hiring and supervising temporary help at times of peak production of reports and publications.

Benefits to the Intern

Since Mr. Stevens has spoken for himself in the section of the report following this one, I will describe this aspect of the program only briefly.

1. He has had an excellent opportunity for professional growth, and in our view has taken full advantage of the opportunity. In many ways, the situation was ideal. Mr. Stevens had been teaching long enough to learn the realities of secondary school teaching but not so long as to become completely committed to certain ways of doing things. He began the year with a keen desire to learn

a great deal about new curriculum work in social studies, and found his experiences more and more exciting and meaningful to himself as the year progressed. His plans to return to his school and do experimental teaching using some of the new materials gave him a very specific focus for his work.

2. He has gained a very broad perspective on the approaches, accomplishments and problems of many curriculum projects, which should make him an exceptionally useful person in any school system.

3. He has learned a great deal about many organizations in the field of education in addition to the school systems with which he is familiar--including departments of social science and education in universities, government-financed curriculum projects, and the Consortium itself.

4. He has met many authors and other personnel in curriculum projects, which will give him a better understanding of their work in the future, as well as access to their assistance in carrying out his own work in the future.

Benefits to the Intern's School System

This year of broad experience will make Mr. Stevens very valuable to his school system as a source of information about new curricula and as a well-informed experimenter with the new curricula. He looked upon reports to his school as his primary responsibility, and all of his detailed reports on visits to curriculum projects were made in the form of letters to his department chairman.

Benefits to the Projects Visited

Our information indicates that he was able to contribute to, as well as to learn from, the projects he visited. He took with him and shared personal information about other projects he had visited and about the work of the Consortium. He often served as a friendly critic or sounding-board for ideas, materials and procedures being tested by the projects.

Financing of the Intern Program

The major part of Mr. Steven's salary was paid by his school system. The Consortium made a small contribution to his salary, and took care of his office, secretarial and travel expenses.

We would strongly recommend that in the future the Consortium or other agencies sponsoring such a program should be in a position to finance a larger

portion of the intern's salary, in view of the fact that it is still rare for school systems to pay for sabbatical leaves or other released time, and that internships should not be limited to teachers from such systems.

We also recommend that such programs include several teachers whenever possible, so that they can have the benefits of discussion and interaction among themselves.

B. A PERSONAL REPORT

W. W. Stevens, Jr.
Homewood Flossmoor High School

Background

In order to appreciate the full implications of a year of internship with a university-based curriculum project, one must understand the position of a typical high school teacher. During my eight years of teaching, I was unaware of the extent to which I had missed important developments in the mainstream of American education. The pressure of meeting five classes a day, five days a week virtually precluded keeping in touch with activities of an innovative nature across the United States. Certainly, there are summer school programs, but these opportunities are narrow in comparison with a year's work at a university where innovations in education at the secondary and elementary levels are a major concern.

Working at such a university has revealed to me a paradox. If one is working in education, it would certainly appear that his own education should not suffer, but is this really the case? How is one to know or appreciate the deep intellectual effort which must be given to curriculum analysis and development when he must concern himself with one hundred and twenty-five students a day? Where is the time for the subtle procedure of drawing out the implicit goals and values in the curriculum when he must spend time with the multitude of extracurricular activities that are so important to the functioning of an excellent school system? Is there time between writing and marking of tests to reflect upon the rationale of a curriculum? We learn by doing, but we grow by thinking, and when does one have time to think about the theories concerning child behavior while the behavior of children presses upon him?

Regardless of the reasons for my lack of involvement on the frontiers of

education, that lack existed, and I would posit the same condition exists, to a large extent, with most teachers who have been teaching for a decade. I would further posit that switching roles and becoming a student is not the best answer for many teachers. If one aspires to an advanced degree, this is entirely another question. But it is rather unusual to find a person working on an advanced degree, particularly a Ph.D., in the hope of becoming a better secondary teacher. Too often, advanced academic work is a door to the green pastures of administration or college teaching.

In order to develop a basis on which a wise selection can be made between different types of training, a delineation of goals is necessary. The attainment of the advanced degree is a difficult and prolonged task with many pitfalls blocking consummation. The anxieties and frustrations associated with this effort can become more important than the concern for intellectual growth specifically associated with secondary or elementary teaching. This is not plea for the cessation of graduate work, but it is an urgent recommendation that those who would concern themselves with public education on the "production line" evaluate their goals and their dedications when the opportunity arises for them to return to the university campus. I am firmly convinced that if one wishes to be a teacher of children, not adults, one must associate himself with those activities that are primarily concerned with teaching children. University and adult education is absolutely necessary in our society, but the education of children must be the major commitment of many persons, and I count myself in this group. This determination demands of me a full intellectual commitment to the most relevant training activities. Internship with the Social Science Education Consortium has facilitated the required intellectual commitment and growth.

The dimensions of this growth can be illustrated in three areas: understandings within the domain of curriculum development, an awareness of the need for and difficulty of the analysis and evaluation of curricula, and insights about the general problem of dissemination of new curricula. These are all areas that should concern the teacher of social studies.

Curriculum Development

During the year, I have traveled to Washington University, the University of Illinois, Carnegie Institute of Technology, the Merrill-Palmer Institute for

Human Development and Family Life, the Amherst History Project, and the American Anthropological Association's curriculum project. Plans have been made for visits, before the end of the academic year, to Educational Services, Incorporated, the Harvard University Project Social Studies; the Lincoln Filene Center, at Tufts University; the anthropology project at the University of Georgia; Project Social Studies at Berkeley, and the Contra Costa Social Studies Project directed by Professor Hilda Taba.

I have also made classroom visitations across the United States where experimental materials are in use. I have been given the opportunity to talk with teachers and children using these materials. I have observed the conditions that are conducive to innovations. I have heard students express concern over content as opposed to method of inquiry. Teachers have told me of their excitement about the new materials, their reservations, and their predictions of the outcomes. I have shared my ideas with those who have planned the development and dissemination of new curricula.

In all these settings, I have kept two goals in mind: 1) to develop a deep understanding of the philosophy of the designers and producers of new curricula, and 2) to contribute a fresh view of one neither emotionally committed to the success of the project nor entrapped in that closed circle of communication that often occurs when people work with one another for an extended period. Insufficient communication between innovators and the world in which the innovation must be put to practice is common. In many cases, I served as a reactor and critic for ideas, materials and procedures being worked out in the projects which I visited--matters related, for example, to dissemination, to a projected intern program, and to statements of rationales of curricula.

On the other side of the ledger, there is a still larger account. I have grown, as a student of art grows. I have learned to appreciate when a curriculum has a sound rationale. I feel excitement when I see students acting as mature investigators, whether in history, sociology or the sciences. I am happy to be part of a profession that is concerned with the long-term welfare of individuals and society, and still happier to be a part of a new emphasis in that profession that makes the future look even more hopeful: an increasing emphasis on teaching children how to think, rather than what to think, which I see as the most important part of the "new social studies."

It has been made clear to me that the responsibility for creative curriculum

revision cannot rest solely in the individual school system, but requires innovative people who, working closely with teachers, can devote their total resources to the effort of curriculum design development. Both professional educators and professional social scientists must be involved. This synthesis of talents has been a slow and long process, but it is finally evolving.

Curriculum Evaluation and Analysis

Teachers must be given the tools to analyze and evaluate curricula. They should, in developing a sound curriculum, make informed judgments as to course content, sequence, and method. I envision that teachers can develop a curriculum which is compatible with their needs and the needs of the student and community. Their task should be mainly that of judging, selecting, and integrating. Those that are creative will improve on the efforts of the curriculum writer. They will rearrange, delete, and replace, but they will not have to write from the beginning or rely on the old method of following the suggestions of the text book. Using the new curriculum materials, students will have the opportunity to ask and answer their own questions and not those of the author of a text. These students will develop the skills of issue analysis and make their own judgments, which will be just as good as the evidence they learn to marshal in support of their conclusions.

It is interesting to speculate how my experience in this year of internship will manifest itself in the years to come; however, one of the outcomes that is not speculative is the impact that curriculum analysis will have upon the selection of materials in my classes and hopefully upon the school in which I am employed. I will, using models now being established, formulate procedures to determine the merits of curriculum content relative to the discipline under investigation. Ideally, the disciplinary worth of the materials will be determined with the aid of position papers developed for the materials by the authors, or with other documents obtainable from the projects. Where such papers and documents are not available, the burden of proof will rest with the curriculum itself. My system will continue with an investigation of the implicit and explicit value claims. The task is to bring the value claims up to the cognitive level and examine the amount of backing they have. Next, I will concern myself with the pedagogical methods. What is done with models and games? What applications can be made of role playing? What are the other

aids that will assist in the implementation of the author's design? The answers to these questions will give clues to the possible success in particular classroom situations.

Finally, it is my intention to make some measurements on the results of using the materials. Although evaluation is a complex and difficult business, it is the responsibility of those who involve themselves in the educational process to contribute to evaluation. What I have in mind is the use of an instrument, preferably designed by the developers of the particular curriculum materials, or designed by myself with advice and approval of the developers, which will test for the achievement of the objectives which are implicitly or explicitly contained in the materials. These plans are only partly developed, but they will take form and grow during the rest of this year of internship and during my classroom experiments next year.

It should be noted that my supervisors have assured me of their full cooperation in trying out new materials in tenth grade classes next year, and that my class load will be reduced from five to three to give time for the experimental work and for evaluation.

Curriculum Dissemination

I have grown acutely aware of the difficulties associated with dissemination of curricula. I have developed a great concern for this dimension for several reasons. I am not at all certain that the publishers of curricula should be the court of judgment as to what reaches the school system. I have grave reservations that the profit motive is the best judge in the selection of curriculum publication. Publishing is certainly not inimical to good materials, but much may well be passed over that deserves consideration.

Time is the other aspect of my concern. No other field of study has such an urgent responsibility. The understanding of man is the obligation of the social sciences. Present curricula, in the usual expository form, beg this responsibility. This responsibility brings me back to my original considerations with internship. Here is a key to dissemination. Here is the path of rapid and efficient transfer of innovation. A national program of internships should be created as an important part of progress to the point where every child in American schools will feel the impact of the "new social studies" within the next few years.

Section 7

MATERIALS LIBRARY AND MATERIALS ANALYSIS

MATERIALS LIBRARY AND MATERIALS ANALYSIS

The collection of descriptions, progress reports, working papers and other unpublished and published results of curriculum projects has been a major task undertaken under this contract, with much of the responsibility taken by the teacher-intern. Materials have been brought together from all of the academically-based social science education projects in the country, and from a selection of the school-based programs. The collection is now probably one of the best in the country, amounting to approximately 600 documents, fewer than a third of which are published.

The library has been made available on a noncirculating basis to anyone who wishes to use it. Users have included personnel from curriculum projects, authors, education students and classroom teachers.

A standard form for describing and analyzing the activities of curriculum projects was worked out early in the 1965-66 academic year, and a number of projects have been analyzed with the use of this form. This is a time-consuming task, and the work done thus far is only a modest beginning; nevertheless, this limited work has been useful to the users of the library.

A set of the forms used for description and analysis of the projects is included at the end of this section. We hope to continue with this work, but it is likely that the forms will be revised in the light of our experience with them before a large amount of additional work is done with them.

C O P Y

9/30/65

Name of project

Director

Title

Subject(s) of project

Grades covered by project

Funded by

Date of inception

Date of (planned) completion

Amount of grant(s)

Plans for publication

Date

Publisher

Cost of books

Cost of other materials

Staff of project

Social Scientist

Educators

Classroom teachers

Lay persons

Others

Objectives of program

Pilot projects

Evaluation of pilot projects

Expected output

Working papers

Classroom materials

Teacher and children materials

Dissemination plans and procedures

Training plans and procedures

C O P Y

9/30/65

-3-

Cost of using materials

Inservice training requirements (minimum and ideal)

Preservice training requirements (minimum and ideal)

Equipment

Space

Institutional associations

C O P Y

9/30/65

-4-

Procedure

Findings

Consequence Analysis

Section 8

ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION

This contract was made by the U. S. Office of Education with Purdue University, to support the work of the Social Science Education Consortium. The Purdue Center for Research in Social Science Education served as a "home" for the Consortium, within the School of Humanities, Social Science and Education.

The director of the Consortium and of the contract work was Professor Irving Morrissett, of the Purdue Department of Economics. He was administratively responsible to Purdue University, and was guided in the substantive work by the Executive Committee of the Consortium, the members of whom were Ronald Lippitt, Professor of Psychology and Sociology, University of Michigan; Wilbur Brookover, Professor of Sociology and Education, Michigan State University; David Easton, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago; Michael Scriven, Professor of the History and Philosophy of Science, Indiana University; Lawrence Senesh, Professor of Economic Education, Purdue University; and Professor Morrissett.

Mrs. Katherine Elbring served as the very able office secretary and administrative assistant throughout the term of the contract, with an interruption in the summer of 1965.

Work performed at other institutions was financed by subcontract negotiated by Purdue with those institutions and approved by the Office of Education. The institutions with whom subcontracts were negotiated were the University of Chicago, Michigan State University, the University of Michigan, Indiana University, and the Merrill-Palmer Institute for Human Development and Family Life.

The Consortium offices were in rented property near the Purdue campus, at 404 Hayes Street from September 1964 to August 1965, and at 427 Wood Street thereafter.

PART III

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND
SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

Since the beginning of the Consortium, its members have felt that there was inadequate communication between child development psychologists and social science educators. There was a conviction that there might be an important body of knowledge that was not being tapped in the development of social science curricula, and that it would be worthwhile exploring ways in which the two groups might work together.

Under the guidance of Dr. Irving Sigel, Director of Research at the Merrill-Palmer Institute for Human Development and Family Life, several pieces of work were undertaken, as a start on that exploration. The four following sections describe that work.

The section immediately following titled "Review of the Problem," describes the problem of inadequate communication between developmental psychologists and curriculum workers, and suggests some directions for cooperative efforts between the two groups. The next section, "Report on Developmental Research Conference," reports on a test run of such a cooperative effort, in which developmental psychologists applied the findings of their profession to some specific problems posed by social science educators.

The third report in this Part, "Abstracts of Relevant Literature," consists of sixty-seven abstracts of child development source materials which the Merrill-Palmer group felt are most relevant to the problems of constructing sound social studies curricula. The last report in this Part is concerned with "A Teaching Strategy for the Social Sciences Derived from Some Piagetian Concepts."

It is the hope of the Consortium that these reports will help point the way to a much more extensive cooperative effort between developmental psychologists and social science curriculum workers.

Section 9

REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

**Irving Sigel
Merrill-Palmer Institute of
Human Development and
Family Life**

REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

There is considerable ferment in the educational world concerning curriculum revisions. Since the launching of Sputnik, educators have been engaged in frenzied activities updating and revising curricula in the natural sciences and mathematics. A sense of urgency has led to ever-expanding activity in curriculum reorganization and innovation. This activity has been further energized. This by a knowledge explosion, with great leaps forward being made in virtually every field of knowledge from anthropology to zoology.

The result has been revisions in curricula for all educational levels in virtually every discipline. Innovations have appeared in elementary school mathematics and high school physics, in elementary grade economics and secondary social sciences.

There has been considerable haste in these developments, as though energy had been dormant during the earlier periods when educational change proceeded at a slower and more leisurely pace. In the haste with which novel curricula have been undertaken, there has been a tendency to overlook the very organism for whom all these changes are ostensibly being made - the child. The intent of the innovative educator should be to prepare the child to cope with an ever changing world of knowledge.

The Potential Contribution of Developmental Psychology

It is our contention that curriculum revision, without consideration of the nature of the developing child, will prove of far less value than anticipated. The logic for this position rests on the assumption that the child's ability to assimilate and generalize new knowledge depends on his intellectual and emotional status. Intellectual status does not mean I.Q., but rather the child's developmental or maturity level.

Recent discoveries in developmental psychology have demonstrated the step by step processes of intellectual growth. At each stage the child is capable of assimilating knowledge in certain ways and under certain conditions. Unless the requisite intellectual processes have been acquired, clever presentation of materials alone will not be sufficient to produce desired outcomes.

The great theoretical and empirical gains made in the last decade in developmental psychology have not had an appropriate or profound effect on

curriculum revisions. With few exceptions, the curriculum innovators, particularly in social science, have worked within a framework of the subject matter and have taken little cognizance of the recent work in child development. The relative lack of communication and integration between these two streams of knowledge is a disservice to both. How can curriculum be revised unless account is taken of the nature of the consumer of that knowledge? And how can we learn about the child's intellectual development unless we are better aware of the educational experiences to which the child is exposed? Each of these fields of endeavor stands to gain from increased interaction.

To document the assertion of the relative lack of integration between developmental psychology and social science curriculum development, we undertook a limited survey of some of the leading social studies texts for teachers. We found that, although formal notice was taken of the importance of child psychology in curriculum development, little effort was made to tie these two together. When it was done, it was in the most general, and frequently insupportable, ways. For example, it is assumed that children are self-centered and are primarily interested in things that are physically close to them. This assertion does not square with the everyday observation of children's interest in cowboys and dinosaurs, both far away from the urban child of the 1960's. It is also commonly said that children are very concrete and literal, and incapable of conceptual thought, but recent research demonstrates that children as young as six or seven are capable of certain kinds of conceptual thought.

In addition to the child and the curriculum, a third ingredient in the education process is the teacher. His style or manner of teaching is especially important. Here too a number of researches have been undertaken, assessing the efficacy of various means of teaching--for example, the inquiry and discovery method, where the child is encouraged to seek out answers with the guidance of a leader. The impact of teacher strategies and the effectiveness of some have been studied (Scott & Sigel, 1965).

Curriculum modification, child development and teacher strategy are closely interrelated; one must attend to all of these if he is interested in maximizing the impact of any one of the three. Because of these considerations, there must be an active dialogue between educators and child developmentalists as well as between child developmentalists and the curriculum builders.

With these commitments in mind we undertook two types of activities:
1) creation of a dialogue between social scientists and developmental psychologists

(see Part II, Report on Developmental Research Conference), and 2) a review of child development research publications, to assess the status of our knowledge regarding the child's social science concepts--the key to his eventual understanding of social science (see Part III, Abstracts of Some Child Development Literature). Since the Conference Proceeding is included in this report, there is no need to summarize it here.

In the research on the development of concepts relevant to social science, we surveyed some 200 articles describing how and at what level children understood the meaning and significance of such concepts as kinship, political leadership and justice. Of course, there are gaps in our knowledge in many areas. This is because there has not been consistent or intensive interest in all areas. Topics such as moral judgment, political attitudes and awareness, for example, have received greater attention than the child's conception of free enterprise or taxation.

Although it is not for us to explain the variety and unevenness of research in these fields, it is tempting to speculate about the reason, and such speculation is relevant to our discussion. The variegated pattern may well be due to the fact that for many fields, e.g., economics and anthropology, little was expected from children. These fields, for example, are considered too complex or too irrelevant for the very young. Some have felt we should leave these disciplines to college, ignoring the fact that children find themselves handling money and engaging in economic transactions very early in life. The decision to exclude social science needs justifying just as much as the decision to include it. The timing and method of introducing economics, for example, should be based on some prior knowledge of the child's ability to understand as well as on the usefulness of economic knowledge to the child. The latter seems easier to decide than the former, although alone it may not be a sufficient reason for introducing economics.

In sum, the developmental psychologist has an important and significant role to play. It seems that until his work and the research in his field are made integral to curriculum building, much will be lost between the curriculum innovations and the child consumer.

THE RELATION BETWEEN RESEARCH AND CURRICULA

The best way to demonstrate the relationship between curriculum development and research on child psychology is by referring to a study by

Charlotte Stafina Huck on "The Nature and Derivation of Young Children's Social Concepts":* Huck investigated the nature and amount of information possessed by suburban children in the first grade with respect to certain areas of social sciences, including political, economic, and sociological phenomena. She was also interested in determining, when possible, what the stated sources of the children's information were, as well as ascertaining the relationship between the level of understanding and the sources of information. Working with 114 first grade children in five schools in north Chicago, she interviewed them about a variety of concepts. Historical topics such as dinosaurs, pyramids, Columbus and Pilgrims were investigated, as well as the children's knowledge of political concepts such as community helpers, taxes and elections. She found that boys seem to have a greater fund of information concerning certain social science areas than girls. All children were relatively well informed on technological and recreational concepts. Historical concepts seem to have little meaning for either boys or girls, but the areas which are most remote from the present are the first to be learned. In general, she found that the children had partial knowledge rather than complete knowledge of many of these things.

These children apparently know far more when they come to school than is expected by the teacher who accepts the common assumptions mentioned earlier. Many social science curricula in the first grade tend to overlook the child's interest in the past, accepting the assumption that children are more interested in things in the immediate environment, such as the postman and the policeman. Research indicates that this is a naive concept. Children have a broader range of information and, consequently, a broader range of data to use when discussing social science than has been credited to them. This should suggest to curriculum planners that the notion that children are initially interested in the community and only later in larger units is outdated. Huck's study and others of a similar nature raise some serious doubts about the validity of the rationale of many social science curricula.

A number of other studies in the area of children's concepts of the flag, of patriotism, and of economics, all tend to indicate that the child's capacity to think and to reason, his knowledge about his world, and the way he can deal with that knowledge, are not reflected in our current curricula.

*Northwestern University, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Field of Education, 1955.

Research of this type, reported to curriculum builders, should create considerable pause for thought and reflection. The only way that the necessary liaison can be carried out is to establish rather close working relationships between curriculum builders and child development experts, particularly those interested in cognitive growth and development.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The Conference Proceedings provide a valuable first step in devising a conceptual framework within which one can think about the developmental sequence of logical thought and reasoning in children. Use of this information, together with an assessment of the state of a child's knowledge, provides us with an opportunity to develop a curriculum which is based on the child's cognitive competence. Recognition of the way in which children at a particular stage think, reason, and organize knowledge provides a rationale for the selection of material and its method of presentation.

Many questions are still to be answered by further research but, in the meantime, there is need for continuous dialogue between the experts in both fields. It is our contention that only by such integrated efforts can the curriculum be rationally based on our current knowledge of the child's psychological development.

Section 10

REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

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REPORT ON DEVELOPMENTAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE

Introduction

This report summarizes the main issues and discussion areas of a working conference held on February 5th and 6th, 1965, at the Merrill-Palmer Institute of Human Development and Family Life, Detroit, Michigan. The main focus of this meeting was the potential contribution of developmental studies of school-age children to the planning and use of social studies curricula. Initially, the possible relation of current research on cognitive processes to the disciplines of history and political science was examined. Emphasis was placed on the theory of cognitive development by Jean Piaget. Using the central concepts of political science outlined by Professor Roberta Sigel of Wayne State University, Professor John Flavell suggested particular cognitive acquisitions necessary for understanding these concepts. The presentation served as a guide for the first day's discussion among project workers, developmental psychologists and social scientists.

Flavell suggested that integration of cognitive abilities with social concepts occurred at particular age levels. In the eleven categories which are summarized below, the age level is taken as 10-11 years unless otherwise noted, although age determinations are approximate since the acquisition of skills is a gradual process of mastery and generalization influenced by experience and other maturational factors. No effort has been made in the following summary to distinguish the contributions of the various conference participants. However, it should be noted that Professor Flavell contributed much of the discussion, particularly the elaborations and examples which immediately follow his suggested cognitive acquisitions.

Cognitive Requisites for Social Science Readiness

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

1. Causal structure of historical or political outcome. The notions of positive, negative, and neutral events in the context of that outcome. Concepts of multi-determination of historical and political outcomes. Concept of causes continuously operating across extended time periods.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The ability to think in terms of natural causes. The ability to regard events as determined by specific other events. The ability to conceive of a variety of types of causes, e.g. personal vs. impersonal or individual vs. group.

Whereas children of five or six, for various reasons, could not understand this concept, there is evidence that children of ten or eleven are beginning, at least with respect to physical events, to have some rational and mature ideas about the nature of causes. They are beginning to look for examples of continuity between physical cause and physical effect. However, there is a difference between spontaneous, self-initiated concept usage and situation-induced usage. In general, children of 11 years have reached only the latter stage. Yet they are able to appreciate cause and effect in their world if the idea is suggested to them.

It is relevant to ask if the child who has the intellectual structure to cope with physical, concrete causality could cope with social causality. In other words, is there a transfer of competence from one area of knowledge to another? Professor Flavell thought there would be, but said there is little experimental evidence to support this assertion. A circumstance which favors early understanding of social causality is the fact that the child has earlier direct experience in social events, particularly parent-child interactions, than he has of 'mechanical causality'.

Rudiments of psychological causality, understanding the things that move people to act as they do, appear at approximately this age. Notions of human motivational determinants allow the child to understand how a group of people acting in concert, dressed as Indians, would do things which none of them would do individually on the street in ordinary clothes.

Understanding multiple causality is extremely difficult for a child if certain primary conceptual abilities are not present. The younger child is more likely to focus upon a single cause or aspect of an event to the exclusion of other dimensions and causes. Competence in multiple, simultaneous classification, and hierarchical relations, is a prerequisite for the acquisition of the concept. For example, if a student writing about Cardinal Richelieu wishes to be as objective as possible about his life, he must consider the implications of being both a Frenchman and a member of the Catholic church simultaneously. A 'balance' must be made by the student, just as it had to be made by the historical figure in question.

The appearance of an ability to understand multiple causality in straightforward experimental situations is not a very useful indicator of how the concept will be used in the real world. For instance, the first evidence of logical multiplication with simple matrices is found at approximately eight

or nine years of age. Whether this indicates that by ages nine to eleven the concept may be ready for use on classroom material still needs a great deal of investigation.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

2. The fundamental uncertainty of historical or political predictions of outcomes - the possibility of calculated guesses greater than chance. The conception of outcomes as the results of stable, identifiable determinants plus accidental, fortuitous determinants.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The ability to think probabilistically. The idea that combinations of insufficient causes can render an outcome more probable, i.e. more likely to occur.

The following example was presented and discussed at some length. Suppose we can demonstrate that certain long-term developments in the social structure or economic nature of a country tend to make it move toward liberalism. We can take 19th Century England as a case in point, and show certain conditions and events which led to a wider distribution of social, political and economic power. Then we can shift to Russia during the period 1870-1910, and find conditions and events similar to those which apparently led to the liberalizing of English society. We may ask the student to imagine that he is studying Russian society in 1910, and ask him to predict the future development of Russia. Contemporaries claimed that Russia was on the path toward liberalism because factors similar to the British case were present. Then a fortuitous event made its appearance, i.e., World War I. This and the consequent destruction of Czarist political, economic and military power turned the long-range factors toward Bolshevism and away from traditional liberal conceptions of government. Hopefully, this would demonstrate to the student what is meant by probabilistic causation, specially weighted events and the alterations of long-term outcomes.

History and political science sometimes make predictions of outcomes, although all the causal information desirable is seldom available. The predictions take the form of educated guesses, of chance modified by what one knows about the situation. The real outcomes are the result of typical developments of stable or quite inevitable determinants continually acting on situations with, in some cases, an accidental, fortuitous event playing a catalytic role.

It would be a tremendous service to children if, as well as historical narrative, we could teach them the 'uncertainty structure' of great amounts of subject matter which will be facing them soon. This is in contrast with the

usual physical science model in which certainties are taught, even though in later years the student will have to modify this learning. This uncertainty principle permeates all social science. Children are initially extremely absolutist in the type of information they will search out, accept, and retain, but they lose some of this rigidity in late childhood or adolescence. If we can reach them at this period of relative mobility they may accommodate some substantial notions of probability and inference.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

3. Specific concepts such as "liberty", "power", "legal process", "regime", "coalition" and governmental tables of organization, authority relations, and related classifications of the hierarchical type.

The ability to classify and to group hierarchical classes to relational structures, and to deal with abstract concepts.

Multiple classification and relational understanding probably underlie most abstract thinking or cognition as we normally conceive them. The child of 10-11 years has mastered the rational manipulation of classes, relations, unit measurements, and numbers insofar as concrete media are concerned. As he makes the transition to analogous operations on the Piagetian formal level he is capable of meaningful use and comprehension of certain abstract terms and concepts. As a single example, the child cannot grasp the essence of an organization table, (e.g. chain of command, spheres of jurisdiction, interlocking authority), unless he has some mastery of relational structures and superordinate, part-whole classifications as described in systems of logic.

In general, a certain minimum, specific vocabulary or concept level is required to discuss the various social sciences. At some point one is certainly going to introduce a concept like "power" without offering auxiliary definitions, innumerable examples, or a concrete representation. The child in the formal period of intellectual development can deal with reality as it is directly presented to him, as well as comprehend statements about reality, propositions, associations, and hypotheses. Thus he can grasp an abstract idea when it is suitably presented. He is essentially capable of dealing with problems in a truly logical way, deductively and inductively.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

4. The possibility of across-instance generalizations about historical or political processes,

The concept of invariance amid variance, or "conservation: in a generalized sense. Common principles or generalizations in

e.g., common causal patterns involved the face of diversity of appearances. in any revolution, or any political process resulting in a new congressional law.

The principle of conservation, which is seen in a wide variety of dimensions or areas (e.g., number, length, area, general size, substance, weight and volume), constitutes an integral aspect of logical thought for Piaget's theory of development. Conservation is defined as that condition when certain attributes are viewed as constant or identical in the face of irrelevant manipulation or change. Thus, the quantity of weight is conserved even though the shape of an object may change, because nothing is added or taken away. The concept of conservation in various areas, e.g., space, length, number, quantity, are not all mastered at the same time or generalized to all forms of presentation. However, the 10 or 11 year-old child generally has the capacity to understand that, in this world of flux and disorder, certain things stand still or remain constant even in the midst of change.

Most event-generalizations in the social sciences may be viewed as examples of conservation. These may take the form of generalizations or commonalities across time or instances within a given time period. There may be common causal patterns, for instance, in conflict resolution or political process which result in the passage of legislation. These constancies have to be accepted by the student if historical precedent or political generalities are to have any meaning. The failure to derive any generalities or common threads from traditional narrative history is the commonest failing in secondary pupils and college students.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

5. The nature of "facts" upon which historical and political generalizations are built. The necessity of inference even at the lowest levels of the structures. The process by which new facts upset previous generalizations. How bias may occur in reporting events.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The knowledge of potential disparity between appearances and reality or that things are not always what they seem. Statements of "fact" are often inferences on the best evidence.

This category is closely related to the conservation skills and classification abilities that were covered previously. Fact materials are generally inferences based on the best available evidence and subject to the perceptual and conceptual orientation of the observer. Things may appear literally, visually,

or conceptually one way yet differ significantly in certain "reality" dimensions. For Piaget, the possibility of disparity between appearances and reality rests upon the perceptually based approach as distinguished from the logical-mathematical reality found in the final stage of cognitive development. The precursors of this dichotomy are found in the child's personal actions upon concrete media. The child gradually discovers and distinguishes what effects his actions have on reality, what changes are possible, and what remains invariant in the face of his actions.

There is a great number of possible examples in history or political science. The current civil rights issue centers on the disparity between apparent constitutional guarantees of speech or voting rights and the "real" conditions of widespread second-class citizenship. Whenever there are conflicting views or interpretations of the same historical-political event the disparity question is present. Thus, the French Revolution offers a large body of data for sociological or economic or political or military-strategic analysis and interpretation. Each of these viewpoints has its merits and limitations and the student of history must reconcile the apparent contradictions or differences in forming an overall picture of a complex event. The presentation of widely differing viewpoints on a single sequence of events or issues relates to the question of uncertainty levels and the degree to which children can tolerate complexity or open-endedness in problem resolution. Absolute fact presentation and complete reliance on a particular textbook narrative explanation can eliminate any concern for uncertainty levels and complexity tolerances.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

6. Intelligent analysis of political and historical facts and the ability to search for facts not available in order to test hypotheses. Ability to participate in the historian's and political scientist's job of creating new knowledge vs. understanding previous knowledge.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The ability to deduce as well as induce, to pose hypotheses about causal structure and then search for relevant evidence, and to draw inferences from an array of facts. (Age attained, 12 to 15 years).

It was pointed out that many professional historians fail consistently to meet this "hypothesis" criterion. Whatever position they accept is taken as the defensible one and possibility of disproof (the null hypothesis) is seldom considered. In general, the creation or discovery of new information, as compared with understanding established knowledge or principles, demands some form of the

hypothesis-deduction process. It operates in the familiar "if-then" suppositions regarding historical events; e.g., if Germany had not sent the Zimmerman Note to Mexico and had British Intelligence not intercepted the message and turned it over to the U. S. State Department, could American involvement in World War I have been circumvented?

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

7. Concepts of equality, justice tempered with "equity", minority rights, freedom within limits.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

Relatively mature moral judgements and knowledge.

It was pointed out that many concepts of human behavior and historical record such as power, legal systems, judicial processes, equality, majority-minority rights, and general social relationships demand a basic comprehension of ethics and morality. Understanding and empathy for these terms is a prerequisite for such processes as understanding changes over time and for making cross-cultural comparisons. Research by Piaget and others has shown that a moral structure is fairly well established by the age of ten or twelve.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

8. Historical and political processes are in part explained by the psychology of individuals - by their wishes, fears, suspicions, and so on.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The rudiments of a knowledge of "human nature", e.g., motivational determinants, adult irrationality and fallibility - why people act as they do.

The basic rationale for the creation, stability and enrichment of the social sciences focuses upon the behavior of human organisms. Knowledge of the essential determinants of human behavior permits the study of man as a social animal and hopefully leads to the prediction of human behavior, event structures, and response patterns, given sufficient antecedent information. The child's individual experiences with family, school and especially peer group interactions provide excellent background material for the introduction of such concepts as compromise, conflicts of interests and biased viewpoints.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

9. A tolerance of conflict of interest and attitude, and an acceptance of the need for compromise, of "bad" positions held in good faith (and to be respected even if disagreeable), of how points of view depend on the

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The presence of moderately well developed role-taking skills. The ability to shift perspectives or to see the other person's point of view.

nature of the facts available, and of the possibility of biased reporting.

This item is naturally related to the psychological determinants discussed in Item 8. Role-taking skills appear basic to understanding much of everyday human behavior: they are essential to comprehending shifting perspectives of problems and to developing tolerance toward points of view of which one does not approve. These skills would also be relevant to much of the material usually covered in current events sections of social studies courses. Role-playing skill and knowledge form the keystone of all successful diplomacy, past and present. They could be used to elaborate the usually-neglected role of the loser in historical analysis.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

10. The role of persuasive manipulations as a weapon in changing power structures, in effecting political outcomes; e.g., what really happens in Congressional committees, caucuses and conventions.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

Concept of persuasion and argument (vs. force) as instrumental behavior in interpersonal situations.

These concepts were presented but not discussed.

SOCIAL SCIENCE CONCEPTS

11. The ability to comprehend historical "time lines" and appreciate that historical events occur simultaneously or successively.

COGNITIVE ACQUISITIONS

The concept of time as a continuous, fixed rate, measurable medium in which events take place.

These concepts are probably more important to historical presentations than to political science problems. Children of 7-8 years generally can deal adequately with short time considerations. Although understanding of extremely large time intervals probably does not stabilize until middle adolescence, historical time lines as a curriculum device could be profitably used much earlier.

Conclusion

Many of the above categories may be economically compressed or subsumed under group headings. There is a marked interrelation, which may reflect the unified view Jean Piaget has of the nature of intelligence. As a single example, multiplicative classification and relationality skills may well underlie

many of the specific categories presented in this initial schema.

Some of the other problems which concerned the discussants included definitions of "structure" in developmental psychology and in content-specific social sciences; the pros and cons of academic acceleration; the inclusion of controversial subject matter; and the dangers of radical curriculum alterations without comprehensive teacher preparation, appropriate new textbooks and co-operation from school superintendents. It was suggested that analysis in depth and long-term concentration on selected major historical events or periods (as compared with the usual redundant narrative) might facilitate the acquisition and utilization of concepts of structure.

Particular emphasis was placed on the potential role of individual "action" sequences as an influence on curriculum formation. Research seems to show that students who engage actively in problem-selection, data collection and verification learn much more readily than others. This result agrees with recent theories concerning the acquisition of knowledge, which see the resolution of conflicts and solving of problems as stimulating to students because of the satisfaction they get in finding solutions.

An important question that remains open is: What subject matter offers the best potential for the acquisition of the concepts? Is there some particular subject matter that would make initial acquisition of the essential concepts easy, and which also facilitate generalization of the concepts to other subject matter?

Section 11

ABSTRACTS OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

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Piaget, for example, has studied acquisition of moral, geometric, space, number, and other concepts. Osgood and Ausubel have been concerned with different methods of organizing meaningful material.

How relevant all this is to the classroom teacher varies with the degree of theoretical or conceptual sophistication deemed necessary for classroom performance. The writer considers a theoretical basis of the learning process important, because it enables the teacher not only to understand how the child learns, but also what kinds of teaching strategies may be invoked in facilitating or enabling the child to learn. Teachers implicitly or explicitly have some concept of learning processes, which affects the way he organizes a course, presents materials and works with the children.

How should this material be used and what is its purpose? There are at least two possible ways: (1) To show the educator the substantive knowledge available in child development literature, relevant to the child's acquisition of social science concepts. The literature should shed some light on the child's understandings and competencies; it should show the teachers the scope of information that children have, the way they organize and deal with this information, and the level of understanding they have of it. (2) To help in making decisions on the organization of materials and the timing of their introduction. Thus, if we find from the research literature at what age the child is likely to understand the principle of reciprocity, then one would introduce at that age the social studies concepts requiring comprehension of this principle.

The reader should distinguish between process and substance. By process is meant the ability to think in certain ways and to handle concepts at various levels of complexity. Substance refers to specific information; even though the child is able to think in hypothetical-deductive terms, he must still begin the acquisition of information about a specific subject at an elementary level.

The material reviewed in the abstracts can help guide the introduction of content at the various grade levels; here the substantive knowledge becomes important. Some of the reports indicate that children have wider knowledge than is generally expected, while, at the same time, it is also clear that children have erroneous information or complete voids in some realms of social information. Also, there are variations with age in

children's understanding of some events; research on the assassination of President Kennedy, for example, shows marked and systematic differences, by age level, in perception of the event.

The studies reported here have not been evaluated as to their quality. The degree of confidence one can have in these studies varies. We selected studies mostly from scholarly journals whose standards are good. However, some materials were abstracted, about which we had some question, because they raised interesting issues and pointed to interesting directions. Although most of the work abstracted is of good research quality, the reader will have to assume some responsibility in evaluating and applying it. He should look at its relevance to the population of children concerned as well as the characteristics of his own and the children's setting.

These caveats raise the question of the appropriateness of generalizing findings based on laboratory-type research to the classroom. This is a critical problem to which the teacher should have had some exposure in his training. Realistically, we realize that most colleges of education do not teach their students how to read, interpret and evaluate research literature. This may be a principal reason why there is not more innovation in educational circles, even though research literature suggests that new and interesting procedures should be tried.

In reviewing the literature, we considered the importance of helping the teacher to understand the theoretical framework within which the experimenter is working. Most investigators have a theoretical or conceptual point of view which is expressed not only in the quality but also in the kind of research they carry out.

The application of research literature to the classroom situation is a complex problem fraught with dangers of overgeneralization. In fact, the application itself becomes a research problem--how feasible it is and how effective are these innovations. This dilemma is unavoidable, since teaching is a complex act drawing on the contributions of a host of specialists and technicians. There will always be a gap between the research and the learner. The size of the gap depends on the training, the opportunities to learn, and the ancillary aids teachers are given to help them carry out their very responsible and difficult task.

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BROFENBRENNER, URIE, "Freudian Theories of Identification and Their Derivatives," Child Development, 1960, 31, 15-40.

Purpose: The author's intent was to review the literature on identification. The theories of identification which were covered were Freudian theory, Stoke's theory, Mowrer's theory, Sanford's theory, Sears' theory, and Parsonian theory.

Conclusion: The author concludes that the term identification has been used to refer to three classes of phenomena:

- (1) Identification as behavior: A behaves in the manner of B.
 - (a) actions of A are learned through taking as a model the actions of B.
 - (b) actions of A are similar to actions of B never seen by A because these actions are reinforced in A by B.
 - (c) identification in overt behavior of A with an ideal standard never actually exhibited by B.
- (2) Identification as a motive: a disposition to act like another.
- (3) Identification as a process: the mechanism through which behavior and motives of a model are learned or emulated.

KOHLBERG, LAWRENCE, "Moral Development and Identification," in H. W. Stevenson (Ed.), The Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, 1963, Part I, Child Psychology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 277-332.

Purpose: The purpose of the paper was to review existing literature on moral development up until about 1963, and to interpret the evidence accumulated with regard to various theoretical approaches. Those theoretical approaches included were learning theory, psychanalytic conceptions of identification and morality, role-learning theories, and developmental theories.

Results: The evidence accumulated, and its relationship to the theoretical approaches considered, is too lengthy to repeat here. The reader is referred to the article.

PREFACE

This Part includes abstracts of a number of studies relevant for the development of social science curricula. These abstracts provide a good sample of material available in the research literature to facilitate the building of social science curricula at all grade levels.

These abstracts are based on a review of a number of journals and other collections of writings, each of which deals with particular social science disciplines. We tried to select those articles which the practitioner, whether a classroom teacher or curriculum specialist, would find useful, in working out the content as well as the strategy of teaching social science.

Our first problem was to define the social sciences. We identified these as anthropology, sociology, economics, political science and psychology--the major disciplines concerned with the study of man. Admittedly this decision was arbitrary, since there are some differences of opinion as to what disciplines make up the social sciences. Once we made this decision, our next task was to decide what kinds of articles we would include. There are many types of material available in the literature relevant to social science--some dealing with acquisition of social concepts, others primarily descriptive in nature, detailing existing knowledge of children. Still others study the learning process irrespective of content. We decided to exclude those studies which did not have substantive findings dealing with particular social science concepts, even though they do contribute to an understanding of concept acquisition.

Our next problem, then, was to decide what a social science concept is. This is more difficult than appears at first blush. A concept has been variously defined by psychologists, educators and philosophers. We took the path of least resistance and used an operational definition: any term that is inclusive of a number of things, instances or events is a concept. Thus, we would study the family, government, leadership, and the like, as social science concepts. For us, the various areas within each of the social sciences that had a class label or categorical statement was sufficient to be considered a concept. Thus, the child's notion of money, and the child's notion of leadership, would be considered concepts.

Literature dealing with research on children's acquisition of social science concepts is scattered throughout many journals and many disciplines. To the best of our knowledge, there was no systematic review of all of this material in any single place. Although in our search we covered many of the major journals, this review does not presume to be inclusive and exhaustive. To make an exhaustive survey would require considerably more time and energy than we had available. The multitude of journals in education and psychology poses an overwhelming task for any reviewer. The abstracts do not include the textbooks that are being written or the monographs that focus on specific areas. The efforts presented here are a first step in what should be a continuing process of collating all the research efforts focused on the child's acquisition of social science concepts.

Interest in the child's development of social concepts is certainly not new. Over the years a number of studies have been done in the colleges of education; some have ended up as unpublished dissertations, others were informal studies done by teachers and others as information-gathering activities.

The primary interest of these studies is to discover what children know, how they acquire this knowledge, and what are their capabilities or competencies in dealing with various levels of information. The interest extends to problems of acquisition and retrieval of information. Increased understanding of children's cognitive, or intellectual, development has made us increasingly aware that particular processes are involved in such knowledge acquisition. The diversity of points of view regarding this process of acquisition adds some confusion to our current state of knowledge. We have yet to create the integrative educational science discipline which brings together the divergent theoretical and empirical statements made by the many investigators dealing with children's thinking. Even comprehensive reviews of children's thinking as expressed in Russell's book, Children's Thinking, leave discrete areas unrelated to each other. Yet the teacher must try to understand an organism which functions as a unit--the child.

The learning theories derived from Hull and Skinner have focused primarily on the learning process, without particular concern for the content to be learned. Other investigators, such as Piaget, Ausubel, and Osgood, have been concerned with the content as well as the process of knowledge acquisition, although each has differed in his approach.

ALLINSMITH, WESLEY, "The Learning of Moral Standards," in D. R. Miller & G. E. Swanson, Inner Conflict and Defense, New York: Holt, 1960, 141-176.

Purpose: The purpose of the study was to investigate the relationship between various responses to transgression -- resistance, feelings of guilt after violation of norms, and externalization of guilt (a defense mechanism) after violation of norms -- and certain childrearing antecedents -- early vs. late weaning, severity of toilet training, type of discipline and reasonableness of parental requests for obedience -- as well as social class, intelligence and age (below 13 to over 13 years of age). Three types of transgression situations were investigated -- death wishes, theft and disobedience.

Method: A story completion test was administered to 112 S's from just below 13 years of age to just above it. They were divided on the basis of I.Q. and social class. The situations involved in the stories -- concerned with death wishes, theft and disobedience -- were designed to eliminate the extraneous influences of perceived approval or disapproval or punishment from authorities for resisting or not resisting temptation, respectively. Antecedent childrearing practices were obtained from mother interviews, and the perceived source of standard for those S's who projected resistance to temptation were obtained from interviews with the S's.

Results:

(1) Severity of guilt

- (a) With regard to death wishes which come true, there appeared to be a curvilinear relationship between severity of guilt and severity of toilet training, early-late weaning, and type of discipline (corporal-minded-psychological) with social class controlled, although the measures used may have obscured results.
- (b) With regard to theft, low severity of guilt appeared to be related to early weaning.

ALLINSMITH, "The Learning of Moral Standards," (cont.)

- (c) With regard to disobedience, early weaning and severe toilet training were related to low severity of guilt.
 - (d) In conclusion, it was suggested that severity of guilt in one area was not necessarily related to severity of guilt in another.
- (2) Externalization
- (a) With regard to theft, mixed discipline led to less externalization.
 - (b) No significant relationships were found with regard to disobedience.
- (3) Resistance to temptation
- (a) Concerning theft, reasonable parental requests for obedience led to greater resistance.
 - (b) The same results were found for disobedience as for theft.
- (4) Perceived sources of standards
- (a) More S's from the middle class revealed inner certainty.
 - (b) Severe toilet training and mixed discipline led to more inner certainty.
- (5) Interrelations among variables
- (a) Externalization was negatively related to resistance to temptation and resistance to temptation was related to greater inner certainty, but inner certainty was not related at all to the externalization.
 - (b) Resistance to temptation appeared to be a function of the tendency to be aware of standards before transgression and of the propensity not to defend against guilt after misconduct.
 - (c) Mixed discipline led to greater inner certainty and less externalization than corporal or psychological punishment.

ARONFREED, J., "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms upon Two Moral Responses to Transgression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 66, 437-448.

Purpose: The author felt that previous research in moral development had assumed an underlying unity in the forms of response or in the sources of moral behavior which obscured differences between specific responses and

ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

distinct antecedents. He therefore experimentally examined the specific conditions of reinforcement affecting children's uses of two moral responses to transgression, self-criticism and reparation. It was hypothesized, in the first experiment, that providing the child with high cognitive structure (verbalizing standards that can be used in evaluation of his behavior) and high control over his own punishment, when he transgresses, will lead to more self-criticism and reparation than providing the child with low cognitive structure and low control. Because of the need to improve the design of the first experiment, a second experiment was run. In this one it was hypothesized that self-criticism would be more affected by high cognitive structure than control over punishment and that reparation would be greater when the child had control over punishment, than when the child was provided with cognitive structure.

Method: The method was approximately the same in both experiments but in the first the two independent variables were not independently manipulated while in the second they were. In the first experiment only two conditions were created -- high cognitive structure, high control; and low cognitive structure, low control. In the second experiment four conditions were created -- high cognitive structure linked with both low and high control, and low cognitive structure linked with both low and high control.

Each child was brought individually into the experimental room and asked to play a game. The game consisted of pushing a doll by means of a hoe-like object through a group of toy soldiers. The object was to push the doll into a box below the table without pushing over the toy soldiers. Tootsy-rolls

ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

were taken away when soldiers were knocked down, and transgression was assumed because of the difficulty of the task. This is what the socialization series consisted of. High or low control was manipulated by letting or not letting the child decide how many tootsy-rolls he should lose after each trial. High or low cognitive structure was manipulated by having E provide or not provide standards (careful and gentle) by means of which the child could come to judge his own behavior.

The subjects in the first experiment were 57 fifth-grade girls from two homogeneous (working-class) public schools in an urban area. In the second experiment, 68 fifth-grade middle-class boys from the same schools were used.

Results:

- (1) Experiment One: The test series consisted of the E secretly breaking the doll and then providing verbal stimuli, if necessary, to see if the child would offer reparation or engage in self-criticism (the child was led to believe it was his own fault).
 - (a) Most children came out with self-critical or reparative responses only after verbal eliciting stimuli were offered.
 - (b) Self-critical responses did not merely reflect the experimental treatment because the children did not just reiterate the verbal responses of E (gentle and careful).
 - (c) Self-critical and reparative responses were more frequent (in terms of number of children giving them) under conditions of high control and high cognitive structure than low control and low cognitive structure, but the extent to which each independent variable contributed to the effect was uncertain because they were varied concomitantly.
- (2) Experiment Two: Same test trial as in Experiment One:
 - (a) Again, self-critical or reparative responses were not given spontaneously but only after verbal eliciting stimuli.
 - (b) Self-critical responses were more likely to occur under high cognitive structure than under low, regardless of high or low control.
 - (c) Control over punishment, regardless of high or low cognitive structure, had no effect on self-criticism.

ARONFREED, "The Effects of Experimental Socialization Paradigms," (cont.)

- (d) Control over punishment had the most effect upon reparative responses, but only under conditions of high cognitive structure (only a trend in this direction existing under low cognitive structure), although cognitive structure, per se, did not affect reparative responses.

ARONFREED, J., "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 223-240.

Purpose: Firstly, the author wished to clarify the relationship between certain kinds of responses to transgression and the presence of moral development (use of standards to evaluate one's actions, thoughts, and feelings). For this purpose the author developed a classification system of responses to transgression. Secondly, the author wanted to test certain hypotheses about the relationship between certain variables such as sex, social class, IQ, and childrearing practices and moral development.

Procedure: The author used a projective technique (asking the S's to react to five transgression situations) to measure reactions to transgression. One hundred twenty-two white children in the sixth grade in two public schools in an urban area were used, with representation of both sexes, and the middle and working classes (as measured by father's occupation). IQ scores were also obtained from school records. Childrearing techniques were assessed by means of an interview with mothers of the children. Responses to transgression were classified in terms of (1) self-criticism--self-evaluation indicated; (2) correction of deviance--responses attempting to return to appropriate social boundaries of behavior; (3) degree of activity in self-correction, (4) external resolution--consequences of transgression defined by external events; and (5) externally oriented initiation

ARONFREED, "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," (cont.)

and performance of moral responses. Mother's discipline techniques were classified in terms of induction (methods that tend to induce in the child reactions to his own transgressions that become independent of original external stimulus sources) or sensitization (all forms of physical punishments and uncontrolled verbal assaults which merely sensitize child to anticipation of punishment and the importance of external demands and expectations in defining appropriate responses).

Results:

- (1) Self-critical responses occurred in only one-fourth of S's, and even then it was not recurrent (occurring in only 28% of stories).
- (2) Self-criticism rarely occurred in combination with either corrections of deviance or external resolution, indicating that any forms of correction of deviance do not presuppose the existence of self-evaluation, and that external resolution is not an elaboration functioning to avoid self-criticism. Kinds of correction of deviance may be merely instrumental responses to reduce anxiety or to avoid anticipated external punishment.
- (3) Correction of deviance was the most characteristic moral response (usually in the form of confession or reparation), but because these responses were not always high in extent of activity of self-correction their value as indices of moral autonomy is uncertain.
- (4) Externally deferred responses were common.
- (5) The middle class, regardless of sex, showed more self-criticism and less external resolution than the working class; boys, regardless of social class, showed less emphasis on external responsibility and were less dependent upon external initiation than girls. Social class differences center upon the distinction between moral consequences defined either in terms of child's own actions or in terms of external events, while sex differences center upon the variability in the extent to which moral consequences which occur in child's own actions need the support of the external environment.
- (6) There were no status differences in correction of deviance.

ARONFREED, "The Nature, Variety and Social Patterning of Moral Responses to Transgression," (cont.)

- (7) There was no relationship between I.Q. and any of the types of response to transgression.
- (8) Induction techniques were used more by middle-class mothers than working-class mothers, while working-class mothers more often used sensitization techniques. There were no differences in the type of discipline used with the two sexes.
- (9) Across social class and sex, reparation and self-initiated acceptance of responsibility were greater under induction than sensitization disciplinary techniques, and external resolutions in the form of unpleasant fortuitous events was greater under sensitization than induction.

ARONFREED, J., "The Origin of Self-Criticism," Psychological Review, 1964, 71, 193-218.

Purpose: The purpose of the experiments reported in this study was to demonstrate that self-criticism is an instrumental response to reducing anxiety which arises from transgression. Induction of self-criticism should consequently be enhanced if the model's critical labels coincide with response-produced cues' termination, which are associated with transgression. To test an opposing theory of the origin of self-criticism, which states that it is a consequence of generalized identification with a nurturant model, the author introduced a condition with a nurturant E. According to this identification theory, the adoption of a model's criticism should not be contingent upon the timing of the criticism with respect to the onset and termination of anxiety. The persistence of self-criticism was also investigated.

Method: Subjects were 89 girls from the fourth and fifth grades in two public schools. They were to guess how many dolls were behind a screen by pushing down the appropriate number of levers on a complicated looking machine. They

ARONFREED, "The Origin of Self-Criticism," (cont.)

were told there were two ways of working the machine--the blue and red. Blue responses were transgression responses signaled by the buzzer operated by E. On these trials S lost tootsy-rolls. The buzzer did not come on and no tootsy-rolls were lost on red trials.

Four conditions were used: (1) labeling at termination of punishment (LTP); (2) labeling at onset of punishment (LOP); (3) nurturance and LOP - same as condition (2) but on all but transgression trials E was very nurturant and warm; (4) labeling without punishment (control). On the first test trial (a blue trial), when the buzzer came on, E asked S in preoccupied manner what had happened. Verbal stimuli were used to see if S would apply the blue label to herself. On the next test trial S was told beforehand that because E was tired she would report what happened herself. The last trial was a red trial and proceeded in the same way as the second trial.

To test for the extinction of self-critical responses, three extinction paradigms were applied to S's run through the LTP socialization paradigms.

Results:

- (1) Self-critical responses were learned by more S's under the LTP condition than under the LOP or nurturant LOP condition, indicating that self-critical responses are indeed anxiety instrumental responses.
- (2) There were no significant differences between the nurturant and non-nurturant LOP conditions (which were similar to the control conditions) indicating that a nurturant model does not affect the acquisition of self-critical responses. It is suggested by the author, however, that a minimum amount of nurturance may be necessary, for with extreme punitiveness competing escape responses may become more closely associated with the reduction of anxiety.
- (3) Extinction was not successful under any three of the extinction paradigms, and all three were the same in this respect.

BURTON, R. V., MACCOBY, E. E., & ALLINSMITH, W., "Antecedents of Resistance to Temptation in Four-Year-Old Children," Child Development, 1961, 32, 689-710.

Purpose: Using interview and experimental techniques, the authors tried to predict resistance to temptation (in an experimental situation) on the basis of childrearing practices and childhood behavior (as reported by the mother). It was suggested that learning theory would predict different relationships of a certain nature than would identification theories.

Method: Children, 90 boys and 37 girls, all four-year-olds in a private nursery in one of four districts in Boston (all middle class), were brought individually into an experimental room to play a bean-bag game. They were explained the rules twice, playing the game twice (once for fun and the second time for a prize). E, unknown to the children, manipulated the game and observed behavior, while playing the game the second time, which was rigged. E left the room and gave instructions making cheating without getting caught obviously possible (such as saying he would knock before he entered the room again). The amount of cheating for each child was recorded on a scale.

Childrearing practices and past childhood behavior were obtained from intensive interviews with the mothers.

Results:

- (1) A positive relationship was found between activity level before one year and up to two years, and resistance to temptation, presumably because mothers who report high activity are reporting their perceptions and their reactions to such a perception would be that the child is exposed to temptation more and so should be controlled more (especially during reaching and touching years). No relationship was found between current activity level and resistance to persuasion.
- (2) Heavy socialization pressure on boys (in the form of severe weaning and extended toilet training) led to greater resistance.

BURTON et al., "Antecedents to Resistance to Temptation (cont.)

- (3) Anxiety as measured by fearfulness of new situations and timidity when meeting new people was associated with non-cheating, while anxiety as measured by reactions to sex differences, isolation and withdrawal of attention were associated with cheating.
- (4) The timing of punishment, whether it comes before or after transgression, and its relationship to resistance was ambiguous because of the use of the interview technique.
- (5) The relationships between extent and severity of rules, restrictions and demands, and the consistency and clarity on the part of the mother in establishing them and resistance to temptation were ambiguous because of the use of the interview technique.
- (6) A negative relationship was found between a report by the mother of a child's understanding of rules and cheating and actual cheating for girls only (it was positive for boys). This may have been due to the fact that different rules are thought of by the mother when referring to girls rather than boys, or it may mean that boys conform more to a mother's teaching of the rules (because social reinforcement is more effective when administered by the opposite sex).
- (7) Resistance to persuasion was related more to physical than psychological punishment, which may be a result of poor measure or which may mean that such a relationship holds for younger children but reverse itself with increasing age.
- (8) There was a negative relationship between resistance to temptation and conscience development as reported by the mother, which may reflect again poor measuring instruments or may indicate the fact that conditions for the development of guilt and resistance to temptation are different.
- (9) Conscience development as reported by the mother was related to a low use of physical punishment, high use of reasoning, high use of praise as reward, high natural warmth, and was non-significantly related to low use of tangible rewards and deprivation of privileges and a high use of isolation.

GRINDER, R. E., "Parental Childrearing Practices, Conscience and Resistance to Temptation of Sixth-Grade Children," Child Development, 1962, 33, 802-820.

Purpose: The author wanted to investigate the relationships between certain childrearing practices and resistance to temptation. The author actually

GRINDER, "Parental Childrearing Practices," (cont.)

implicitly assumes more than one theoretical position, from which he draws his hypothesis (for instance, Whiting's status envy hypothesis with regard to nurturance and punitiveness and a learning theory formulation with regard to timing of punishment and resistance to temptation and guilt - at least in part). The hypotheses are:

- (1) Nurturant parents will lead to more resistance than cold parents.
- (2) Parents imposing a high level of demands and restrictions will induce more resistance than those imposing a low level.
- (3) Psychological discipline will lead to more resistance than physically oriented discipline techniques.
- (4) Enforcing a high level of obedience leads to more resistance than enforcing a low level.
- (5) Early and/or severe weaning will lead to more resistance than late and/or less severe weaning.
- (6) Early and/or severe toilet training leads to more resistance than late and/or less severe toilet training.
- (7) High pressure against overt sexual behavior will lead to more resistance than low pressure.
- (8) Severe punishment of overt expression of aggression leads to more resistance than low pressure.
- (9) Most parents punish children after they transgress, not before, which means that guilt reactions will develop before resistance, but resistance will also develop because anxiety anticipatory of guilt will serve as an avoidance cue; if punishment came before transgression resistance would develop but not guilt. However, because punishment normally follows transgression, resistance and guilt will be highly related for the relatively developed conscience.

Method: Subjects were 140 sixth-graders in Boston public schools/ ^{representing} All had both sexes, various socio-economic levels and religions. been observed six years earlier as part of the Sears, Maccoby and Leven study.

Childrearing practices were obtained from mother interviews. Resistance to temptation was obtained by observing cheating in a game situation where all

GRINDER, "Parental Childrearing Practices," (cont.)

children could cheat without getting caught (but were actually observed), and where all children were offered the same prize (badges) for winning at the game. The game was a ray-gun shooting game.

Results:

- (1) 70% of the S's yielded to temptation and 30% did not; there were no significant sex differences.
- (2) For boys, resistance was significantly associated with high parental standards for neatness and orderliness, and short duration of bowel training, while for girls resistance was significantly associated with short or moderate duration of bowel training and moderate pressure against masturbation.
- (3) There were insignificant trends, for boys, for few realistic standards for obedience to be related to yielding to resistance, for high use of of praise as a psychological discipline technique and high severity of pressure against sex play to both be positively related to resistance.
- (4) For girls, there were trends for resistance to be related to early weaning, withdrawal of love, high use of reasoning and early age at completion of bowel training.
- (5) Control of aggression and nurturance were not related to resistance.
- (6) There was a positive association between boy's admission of deviation (guilt) at 5-6 and their resistance at 11-12. For girls, frequent confession and strong evidence of conscience development at 5-6 were related to resistance at 11-12.
- (7) Because Burton found resistance and guilt negatively related at age 4 and because this study found them positively related at ages 11-12, it appears that guilt does develop before resistance.
- (8) Because girls showed more resistance than boys at ages 5-6, and because both sexes were equally resistant in this study, the authors conclude that high conscience develops faster in girls and they attribute this to changing identifications for boys (mother to father as role model and the congruence of socializing agent and adult role-models in the mother for girls.

HARRIS, D. B., CLARK, K. E., ROSE, A. M., & BALASEK, FRANCES, "The Measurement of Responsibility in Children," Child Development, 1954, 25, 21-28 and 29-33.

Purpose: In a pair of articles the authors set out to try to answer some general questions such as how and at what ages a sense of responsibility develops, and more specifically to test the widely held notion that the assignment of household chores to children helps them develop a sense of responsibility.

Procedure: Over 4,000 Minnesota children from rural areas and small towns as well as a large metropolitan center, were given a battery of paper and pencil tests and attitude scales including:

- (1) a citizenship scale of 48 agree-disagree items tapping personal behavior as well as opinions of others through statements such as "I would sneak into a movie if I could do it without being caught," or "The person who doesn't vote is not a good citizen."
- (2) a questionnaire dealing with his use of money, his work experience and his household duties.

Each child was also rated by his teacher on a check list designed to assess classroom responsibility through items such as "dawdles at his work", "sees jobs to be done and does them without waiting to be asked."

Findings: Interactions among age, sex and habitation (e.g. rural, town, and urban) groups were computed, with the following conclusions reached:

- (1) There appears to be no highly organized trait of responsibility as such in childhood although it may develop by mid-adolescence.
- (2) Girls are judged somewhat more responsible than boys by their teachers.
- (3) Rural children were not judged more responsible than urban.
- (4) "This study reveals little evidence for a marked development progress in the child's amount of responsibility."

Conclusions: The authors suggest that responsibility as we think of it may have meaning only in adult situations characterized by more real demands. They found

HARRIS, et al., "The Measurement of Responsibility in Children," (cont.)

no evidence that the performing of routine tasks such as washing dishes, caring for pets, and cleaning the house is associated with an attitude of responsibility.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "Immanent Justice Among West African Children," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 47, 241-248.

Purpose: To replicate the work of Piaget and Neugarten in a different culture. Piaget had postulated in The Moral Judgment of the Child that young children pass through a stage where their moral ideas are governed by an implicit notion of "immanent justice" (automatic punishments which emanate from things themselves). He found that the notion decreased with age among Swiss children but predicted such a decline would not occur among primitive peoples. Havighurst and Neugarten's study with Hopi Indians revealed an increase with age in the belief in immanent justice.

Procedure: Subjects were 120 school children from Accra, Ghana elementary schools, divided into 2 age groups, 6 - 12 and 12 - 18. They were told a version of the stolen orange story originated by Piaget and used by Neugarten in which a boy who steals an orange and gets away from the seller is cut by a cutlass later that afternoon. Answers as to why this happened were coded as 1) pure immanence, 2) act of God, 3) inconsistent, 4) magical causation, and 5) naturalistic.

Findings: A much greater percentage of the younger group than the older group explained the action in terms of pure immanence. However, "act of God" was

JAHODA, "Immanent Justice," (cont.)

more prevalent among older children than younger. Twenty percent of the older group and none of the younger attributed the action to naturalistic causes.

Jahoda feels, however, that there may be legitimate ground for including "acts of God" under the "immanent justice" category. If this is done the percentage of children using the category would be much larger and the decrease with age smaller. He concludes that no meaningful qualitative analysis can be made without further clarifying the concepts involved. Moreover he questions Piaget's assumption that at adolescence children in "primitive" cultures come under more moral constraint while those in "modern" cultures are under less constraint.

JOHNSON, R. C., "A Study of Children's Moral Judgments," Child Development, 1962, 33, 327-354.

Purpose: To test some of Piaget's ideas concerning developmental changes in moral judgment. More specifically, the study was designed to determine the consistency of responses to questions within and between various areas of moral judgment (immanent justice, moral realism, expiatory vs. restitutive punishment, efficacy of severe punishment, and communicable responsibility). The author hoped to investigate the relation of various antecedent conditions to children's moral judgments.

Procedure: A moral judgment test was given to 807 children in grades 5, 7, 9 and 11 in a midwestern city. Subsamples in grades 7, 9, and 11 were also given a test of abstractness-concreteness. Parents of subjects in the subsample were given an attitude test.

Findings: The reliability of the entire moral judgment scale and its subscales was not as high as that usually obtained in educational tests.

Responses within various areas of moral judgment were nearly always positively and significantly correlated.

Intercorrelations between areas of moral judgment showed that the areas of moral realism, retribution vs. restitution, and efficacy of severe punishment were not closely correlated with one another. Responses to questions about immanent justice were less closely related and responses to questions involving communicable responsibility were essentially unrelated to other response tendencies.

Abstractness and concreteness were only slightly related to moral judgment responses. Parent attitudes were significantly related, especially in the areas of immanent justice and communicable responsibility. IQ and, to a lesser

JOHNSON, "A Study of Children's Moral Judgments," (cont.)

extent, parental occupations were positively and significantly correlated with mature moral judgment in all areas. Parental constraint seemed closely related to responses made in the areas of immanent justice and communicable responsibility.

MACCOBY, ELEANOR E., "The Taking of Adult Roles in Middle Childhood," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 492-503.

Purpose: The author wanted to investigate the conditions under which covert practice of adult roles would be greatest. It was hypothesized that children do covertly practice adult roles for three motives: the desire to reproduce in fantasy events that had been reinforcing or associated with reinforcement (rewarding behavior of parents toward child); because the child cannot attain goals without the intervention of parents (with high control), the child will rehearse parental behavior; and the child will obtain vicarious satisfaction by pretending to be a person who is enjoying rewards denied to the child. Adult role playing becomes overt either when the child himself becomes a parent or when an age-mate provides the stimulus during an interaction by acting out some aspect of a reciprocal child role. Only one aspect of the adult role was investigated - rule enforcement. The hypotheses were:

- (1) When a child sees an age-mate violate a rule, he will be more likely to enforce that rule if his parents were strict rule enforcers (as measured by restrictiveness and punitiveness).
- (2) The match between the rule enforcing behavior of parent and child will be closest in those families where parents were highly nurturant.

Procedure: Five hundred and twenty-five sixth grade children in the Boston area were used. Items describing an interaction with an age-mate were administered, and S had to choose one of the role-taking answers. An adult-child

MACCOBY, "The Taking of Adult Roles in Middle Childhood," (cont.)

role choice scale was devised, where S chose either an adult-like or child-like function. Questions depicting deviation of a child who was caught by an adult demanded that S either side with the child or adult. Teacher interview reports on each S's relationships to classmates and teacher were also obtained. Mother interviews provided information on child rearing practices.

Findings:

- (1) Rule-enforcing children were well socialized in other respects, and for both sexes rule-enforcement was related to aggression anxiety.
- (2) Rule-enforcing boys accepted rule enforcement upon themselves by other peers more than rule-enforcing girls.
- (3) Rule-enforcing boys showed less anti-social aggressions and more pro-social aggression (non-significant trend in this direction for girls).
- (4) Rule-enforcing boys were reported by the teacher to be good in class (well-behaved, less aggressive toward peers, etc.); an appropriate relation for girls was found in some cases, and no relation in others.
- (5) Rule-enforcing boys had more restrictive mothers while rule-enforcing girls had more punitive mothers (but not more restrictive).
- (6) For boys, restrictiveness and rule-enforcement were more closely associated with warm mothers than with cold mothers, with high early dependency than with low (but warmth and dependency not related), and with low dependency on peers than with high.
- (7) For girls, punitiveness and rule-enforcement were more closely associated with high early dependency than with low and with low dependency on peers than with high, but the association was no stronger with warm mothers than with cold.
- (8) For boys and girls, whether or not the parent who is most restrictive (or punitive) is of the same sex has no effect on the match between rule-enforcing behavior of parent and child.

MAC ROE, DUNCAN, "A Test of Piaget's Theories of Moral Development," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1954, 49, 14-18.

Purpose: To test two assumptions of Piaget and Lerner:

MAC ROE, "A Test of Piaget's Theories of Moral Development," (cont.)

- (1) the questions used to test the development of moral judgment involve a single underlying dimension other than the child's age.
- (2) this dimension of moral judgment is associated with the type of authority relations to which the child is subjected.

Procedure: Two hundred and forty-four boys aged 5 to 14 were used. Moral judgment questions similar to Piaget's were administered as well as questions tapping at authority relations with parents and relationships with peers.

Findings:

- (1) For each question, age trends in the direction predicted by Piaget were found.
- (2) Within age groups, questions did not correlate forming one dimension, but rather four clusters were found, each of which represents a separate aspect of moral development. These sub-clusters were concerned with intentions vs. consequences, punishments, perspectives, and violations of norms.
- (3) The extent of parental discipline and control and the internalization of parental requirements did not show a steady decrease in age as predicted by Piaget.
- (4) The violation of norms index correlated negatively with the extent of discipline index and the internalization index as predicted by Piaget, but other Piaget indices did not show the correlations.
- (5) The author suggests the postulation of two distinct processes of moral development, which may show different relationships to IQ and social class:
 - (a) cognitive - learning what behavior patterns are approved and disapproved (as measured by the intention vs. consequences and
 - (b) emotional - the association of anxiety with one's own deviance and moral indignation with the deviance of others (as measured by the violation of norms index).

punishment indices).

MORRIS, J. F., "Symposium: The Development of Moral Values in Children, II The Development of Adolescent Value Judgments," British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1958, 28, Pt. I, 1-14.

Purpose: To investigate the main changes in value judgments in late childhood and adolescence, and to determine the conditions under which changes take place. A distinction was made between cognitive and emotional moral development as suggested by MacRoe (1954).

Procedure: Children from the 1st through 5th classes in a British middle grammar school were used. They were presented with problem situations and asked what would and should be done and why. The following classification of responses was made:

- (1) normative principle of assumed general validity,
- (2) use of an authoritative edict to justify a course of action,
- (3) reciprocity (emphasis on quid pro quo),
- (4) self-interest - desire for self-gratification and/or avoidance of punishment,
- (5) independence - emphasis upon making up one's own mind,
- (6) conformity - emphasis upon doing what others in one's age group want.

Findings:

- (1) There was a discrepancy between "should" and "would" answers, which increased with age.
- (2) With increasing age there was a faster growth of normative judgments on the should level than on the would level.
- (3) There was a decline in self-interest with age, especially on the would level.
- (4) There was a decline in age in moral dependency on authority and on increase in independence, both subject to marked fluctuations at puberty.

MORRIS, Symposium: The Development of Moral Values in Children," (cont.)

- (5) The complexity of value judgments increased with age.
- (6) There were marked situational differences in value judgments (not necessarily implying subjective inconsistency).
- (7) There were no sex differences in responses to situations, although the should-would discrepancy was slightly greater for girls and value changes were slightly faster for girls.

DURKIN, D., "Children's Concepts of Justice: A Comparison with Piaget's Data," Child Development, 1959, 30, 59-67.

Purpose: To investigate Piaget's theory of development of moral judgment from submission to adult authority to mutual respect, from the point of view of cross-cultural differences and differences in intelligence.

Procedure: The sample consisted of 101 boys and girls in grades 2, 5, and 8 in a small midwestern community. Most were middle-class white Protestants. Children were presented with a story in which one boy hit another during school recess and asked what the boy who was hit should do? They were also asked how they would feel if the second boy not only hit the first boy back but also gave him a push. Answers were coded as 1) tell authority person, 2) return identical aggression, or 3) other.

Findings: Different kinds of justice concepts were found at various age levels. Grades 2 and 8 were most likely to turn to authority figures. Acceptance of reciprocity does not increase with age. Older children tend to show concern for possible mitigating factors in the situation, in some sense an emergence of equity with age. No apparent relationship was found between intelligence and a "feeling of equity". Piaget's findings that those approving of reciprocity do not accept an arbitrary punishment bearing no relation to the punishable act were substantiated.

DANZINGER, K., "Children's Earliest Conceptions of Economic Relationships," Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 47, 231-240.

Purpose: The introduction decries the fact that "psychological investigations specifically concerned with concept formation in children have shown a marked preference for the study of concepts about the physical world rather than the social world." This study was undertaken to obtain data on the growth of social concepts (specifically economic ones) to see if there is a process of development that is peculiar to them.

Procedures: Subjects were 41 Australian children (20 boys and 21 girls) of varied socio-economic levels, divided into two age groups, one of 8-year-olds, one of children 5-7, from a single school in Melbourne, Australia. This age break was selected because of Piaget's findings that a fundamental change occurs in children's thinking at this point.

In an interview children were asked a series of 10 standard questions (supplemented by probes if needed) dealing with three major topics:

- (1) Rich and poor - What is rich (poor)? How do people get rich? Why are some people rich and some poor?
- (2) Money - Why do we have to give money when we buy things in a shop? What does the man in the shop do with the money he gets? Where does money come from?
- (3) "Boss" - What is a boss? Where does the boss get his money? How does a person become a boss?

Findings: Children were at a higher stage in understanding of exchange than of production which is understandable since they have first hand experience with purchasing but not with producing. Four stages in the development of economic concepts were found:

- (1) An initial pre-categorical stage in which a child has no economic categories of thought.

DANZINGER, "Children's Earliest Conceptions of Economic Relationships," (cont.)

- (2) A categorical stage in which the child's concepts appear to represent a reality in terms of isolated acts which are explained by a moral or voluntaristic imperative.
- (3) At this stage reciprocity is established between previously isolated acts. This child is able to conceptualize certain relationships but they are not explained in terms of other relationships.
- (4) In the final stage isolated relationships become linked to each other so as to form a system of relations. Each part derives its significance from its position in the whole.

Conclusions: The stages in development of economic concepts seem to be analogous to those found in the development of kinship concepts. (See Danzinger, K., "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms: A Study in the Development of Relational Concepts," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1957, 91, 213-233.) "The possibility arises that these stages may be characteristic of the development of notions about social relationships in general."

SCHUESSLER, KARL, & STRAUSS, ANSELM, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," American Sociological Review, 1950, 15, 752-762.

Purpose: This paper is concerned with the development of concepts in children not because of an interest in child development as such, but because the authors contend that the process of becoming socialized is basically one of learning concepts. The concept "money" was selected as being central to Western thought and life. The three basic questions asked were:

- (1) Whether children develop in a fairly consistent way with respect to the concept,
- (2) Whether fairly definite stages in concept development can be established, and
- (3) What conditions or types of learning are prerequisite to any given stage of development.

SCHUESSLER & STRAUSS, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were 68 children (approximately 5 boys and 5 girls at each age level, 4 - 10) from a middle-class school in Bloomington, Indiana. The interview which took 35 - 45 minutes included questions about recognition, comparative value, and equivalence. Within each section tasks of varying levels of difficulty were included, e.g. recognition - child asked to identify various U.S. coins, explain how they knew what a coin was, whether another country can have money not in dollars and cents. Comparative value - child asked which of paired coins will buy more, why a dime is worth more than a nickel even though it is smaller. Equivalence - child asked to give examiner back just what examiner gave him, to tell how much change he would get from a dime if he bought six cents worth of candy.

Findings: The hypothesis that concept development among children is uniform and consistent is strongly supported by the finding that the items scale. The organization of the child's responses develops from very simple modes to highly complex ones. Related progressions from concrete to abstract, and from discrete to systematic thinking were also found. Similarly behavior progresses from relatively "rigid" to relatively "flexible." For example, younger children claimed that they could not match the investigator's dime if they did not have one, while more advanced children could match a dime with 10 pennies, and once they developed the notion of making change in the abstract, could match 6 pennies without having any pennies. Using Piagetian terms, they also report a progression from absolute or egocentric behavior to relative or non-egocentric behavior.

No sex differences were found. Although children often reached a given level at different ages, chronological age was related to the amount of

SCHUESSLER & STRAUSS, "A Study of Concept Learning by Scale Analysis," (cont.)

monetary information held and accounted for more of the variation in test scores than did mental age. Preliminary examination of class differences suggested that social class may affect the age at which the learning takes place, but that the conceptual progression is the same.

STRAUSS, ANSELM, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," American Sociological Review, 1952, 17, 275-286.

Purpose: This article discusses the value of scale analysis as a method for studying concept development in the child, traces the cumulative development of a number of interrelated monetary meanings or concepts, and makes some general observations about the process of concept development.

Procedures: Subjects were 66 children, ages $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ (approximately 5 boys and 5 girls at each age level) from a middle-class school in Bloomington, Indiana. Each child was asked 71 questions in four sessions, each one lasting between 15 and 30 minutes. In addition, about 10 children (3 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ -year-olds) not part of the regular sample were studied.

Findings: Children in the youngest group, considered a sub-stage, were able to distinguish money from other objects such as buttons, but the maximum distinction they could make between coins was between penny and not a penny. Scale 1 children (median age 5.4 years) could distinguish nickles from other silver, but could not name all remaining coins correctly, realized that money had to do with buying, but seemed to feel that any coin buys anything and could not envision any function of monetary activity other than buying and selling which were only partially understood. At the other extreme, Stage 9

STRAUSS, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," (cont.)

children (median age 11.2) understood the storekeeper's function as a middleman and the justification for his profits, and also realized that storekeepers might cheat to make more money. Potentialities of money for evil as well as good were thus recognized. At no stage were the children able to understand the function of any middleman other than the storekeeper.

Conclusions: "Stage" taken to indicate level of response organization is a useful conception. As the child moves from level to level, his behavior undergoes transformation--that is, it changes, as well as becoming more complex. As comprehension increases, many earlier notions seem to be lost; but they are actually losses only in the sense that the child no longer believes a particular notion. At each stage, children commit characteristic errors which are related in determinable ways to characteristic concepts held at each level. Finally, Strauss concludes that learning of concepts is not merely an intellectual matter. Shifts of conceptualization are shifts in emoting, perceiving, willing and valuing.

SUTTON, RACHEL S., "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts," Journal of Psychology, 1962, 53, 37-46.

Purpose: This study set out to obtain information of the growth and development of economic concepts and the process by which they are attained.

Procedure: Eighty-five children from grades 1 to 6 from six public schools in northeastern Georgia were asked a series of questions about money and the accumulation of capital (e.g. How do people get money? What is a bank? What can be used in place of money? What happens to money in a bank?). Replies

SUTTON, "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts," (cont.)

to each question were analyzed by grades and coded in one of six categories of economic thought reflecting various levels of complexity.

Findings: A substantial majority of all responses (63%) were on a pre-categorical level where a thing would be named with no apparent understanding of its economic meaning, e.g. "a bank is a place to keep money". Age, intelligence and socio-economic background had little effect on the understanding of the production credit of money. Older, more intelligent children tended to moralize and explain in terms of rightness and wrongness. This "morality" category of goodness or badness without regard to economic function (e.g. "Money will buy everything but happiness") was second most widely used with 18% of all replies. Five percent of all replies referred to two acts involving a reciprocity which cannot be explained in terms of other economic relationships while only 1% of the replies located a single act in terms of its position in a system of relationships.

Conclusions: To the author, these findings argued cogently for more external stimuli in the development of economic concepts.

SUTTON, RACHEL S., "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts: II," Journal of Psychology, 1964, 58, 407-412.

Purpose: This study was designed to assess the ages at which children use different levels of meaning for selected words having economic content, and further to find out if instruction in economics effects the levels of meaning upon which children of a given age can operate.

Procedure: The subjects were 1st, 3rd, and 5th grade children in an elemen-

SUTTON, "Behavior in the Attainment of Economic Concepts: II," (cont.)

tary school in Georgia. Their level of thinking was assessed by a specially constructed test listing selected words and four alternative meanings from which they were to select the "best meaning". The alternatives had been selected to represent four levels of meaning--incorrect, concrete, functional and abstract.

Findings: Analysis of variance revealed that incorrect and concrete responses decreased with age and abstract responses increased. Within each grade there was a significant decrease in the use of incorrect and concrete responses and a significant increase in the use of functional and abstract responses after the students had received instruction in economics over a 6-month period.

DENNIS, JACK, "Some Major Perspectives for Empirical Research on Political Socialization," unpublished paper, April 29, 1965.

Dennis's article attempts to separate the various problem areas in the study of political socialization, and to review briefly some of the research that has been done in these areas. He suggests nine major problem areas, with important questions to ask in each area, three of which he suggests are on the dependent variable side and six of which are on the independent variable side. The three major problem areas on the dependent variable side are:

- (1) What is the impact of political socialization on political life or the political system?
- (2) What is the content of political socialization that is transmitted that thus consequences for the life or stability of political systems? Within this problem area not only does the question of content arise, but also the question of what orientations are transmitted.
- (3) What is the extent of political socialization for any given member of the political system? Aspects of the extent of political socialization which have research importance, are the length of political socialization (in terms of the life cycle), the quantity or area of content it covers, the intensity or depth of commitment engendered, and the spread or proportion of members included.

On the independent variable side, the problem areas are:

- (4) How is the process of political socialization associated with the life cycle of individual members? Is political socialization developmental, and if so what is the shape of the developmental curve? What factors affect development? How fixed are political values, knowledge,

DENNIS, "Some Major Perspectives for Empirical Research on Political Socialization." (cont.)

and affect given a certain form of developmental curve?

- (5) What are the generational variations in political socialization?
- (6) What are the inter-system variations?
- (7) What are the intra-system variations?
- (8) What is the learning process like in political socialization?
- (9) What are the agencies of political socialization, and what inter- and intra-agency variability is there?

EASTON, DAVID, & HESS, ROBERT, "Youth and the Political System," in Lipset, S. M., and Lowenthal, L., Culture and Social Character. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.

Easton and Hess concern themselves with the content of political socialization and attempt to dimensionalize this content in such a way that the implications of the content socialized upon the stability of the political system can be assessed. They suggest that political socialization can be viewed as the means by which members of a political system acquire three kinds of political orientations: knowledge, attitudes, and values or standards of evaluation. For analytical purposes they also divide the political system into three levels-- 1) government (all roles through which day to day formulation and administration of societal binding decisions are undertaken), 2) regime (consistency of orientations relating to a given form of government for which a constitution spells out formal prescriptions as to structure and allocation of rights and privileges, and consisting of customary rules), and 3) community (which is the agreement of a people to solve problems in common through a shared political structure).

EASTON & HESS, "Youth and the Political System," (cont.)

The authors suggest that consensus at the community level is necessary if a political system is to remain stable. Cleavages of values and attitudes are often common on the governmental level, however. Even on this level, though, Easton and Hess suggest that some consensus is necessary.

The authors also discuss some of the implications of David Riesman's work for studies of political socialization--particularly in the area of orientations toward the regime.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "Political Socialization," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, (to appear in forthcoming edition).

The author gives a brief overview of the research on political socialization. A definition of political socialization is offered (the inculcation of political information, values and practices, both formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of life cycle), a brief history of research in the area is given, and some important areas of research and researchable hypotheses are suggested.

HYMAN, HERBERT, Political Socialization, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959.

A good survey of the literature on political socialization up until about 1957. Most of the problems dealt with are limited to political participation and attitudes, on what Hess and Easton have called the governmental level. The regime and community attitude levels are not dealt with.

EASTON, DAVID, & DENNIS, JACK, "The Child's Image of Government," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 361 (September, 1965, 40-57.

Purpose: The authors were interested in examining the meaning of government to children and exploring cognitive and effective components of such a concept as well as developmental changes in the concept.

Procedure: A sample of approximately 12,000 middle- and working-class white children in grades 2 through 8, from large metropolitan areas across the United States were given a structured questionnaire. A smaller number were individually interviewed.

Findings: When children were asked to choose two of ten symbols that best described government it was found that four symbols predominated: President, Congress, voting, and Washington. President and Washington decreased with age, Congress and voting increased. From this it was concluded that the concept of governmental authority moves from one that is highly personalized to one that is "legal-natural", institutionalized and impersonal. Also, the increase with age in the response "voting" indicates, for the authors, as increasing awareness of regime rules. The directions of concept change found in children is moving toward the position of their teachers, which the authors suggest indicates that society is successfully inculcating a concept of government appropriate in the political system.

With increasing age, children tend to view Congress as the center of government, the most important law-making institution, and laws as most important products of our system. Government, and Congress in particular, is increasingly seen as benign and helpful, not restraining.

EASTON & DENNIS, "The Child's Image of Government," (cont.)

A structured question showed that children can differentiate between the public and private sectors, and that this differentiation increases with age.

The authors also maintain, on the basis of evidence collected, that affective regard of a positive nature toward the government remains high even though cognitive changes in the concept of government are evident with age. The following evidence was found:

- (1) Most children approve of the government's collectivist orientation, but do not want to see the government more powerful.
- (2) A high positive image of government is maintained but in some instances is qualified with age, such as older children saying the government would usually or almost always, but not always, want to help them. Positive images of role competence increase with age.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, 1960, 54, 934-43.

Purpose: To investigate the genesis of attitudes toward political leaders and possible ways this may affect adult responses to formal wielders of power.

Procedures: Approximately 650 New Haven public and private school children of widely varying socio-economic status in grades 4 through 8 were given paper and pencil questionnaires early in 1958. Individual interviews were conducted with a smaller number of children and their teachers.

Findings: Children are like adults in ranking certain political roles very high, but unlike adults (who often hold disdain for particular political

GREENSTEIN, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," (cont.)

officials) in that they tend to evaluate political officials very positively. Evaluations and effective knowledge about political leaders seem to precede the factual information on which they might be "based". The children assigned themselves a political party affiliation long before they could make any meaningful statements about the parties or identify their national leaders. Amount of political information increased considerably through the various grade levels studied, but the use of glowing political imagery seemed to decline. When asked to describe the duties of local, state and federal executive and legislative bodies, most children made straightforward statements, e.g. the mayor runs the city, Congress makes laws, but a conspicuous majority volunteered affective responses describing special services performed for children, or, more generally, the "helping" role of leaders.

Discussion: Possible explanations for the favorable view of political leaders are the casual nature of early learning (through patriotic observances rather than planned instruction) and the painfully benevolent portrayal of officials in children's literature.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., Children and Politics. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964.

Purpose: This is a study of political socialization based on questionnaires and interviews given to a sample of New Haven children. The author attempts to answer such questions as: Where do children's political ideas come from? and How do these ideas vary with sex and socio-economic status? He also speculates on the relationship between the political ideas held by the children

GREENSTEIN, Children and Politics, (cont.)

and their future political behavior.

Procedure: Questionnaires were administered to a sample of 659 New Haven, Connecticut school children between the ages of 9 and 13 in 1958. A sub sample of these children were interviewed. An additional smaller project reports reactions to President Kennedy's assassination in 1963.

- Findings:
- (1) Evaluation and affective knowledge of political authority seem to precede the factual information about it. When compared with adults children have highly idealized views of the President and political authority in general. This idealization consists of a more favorable view of political authority than the views of most adults, a higher feeling of political efficiency, a feeling of the general benevolence and goodness of political roles rather than the service functions of these roles, and less of a willingness to criticize political authority than adults. This idealization decreases with age.
 - (2) Children's views may come from incidental family instruction, inadvertent political learning in the schools, and the mass media. The highly idealized nature of children's political attitudes may come from the parents' unwillingness to pass on negative political attitudes to the child, a blocking out of negative attitudes toward adult and political authority (because of psychological need) and the channeling of private orientation to authority to public orientation. The decrease of idealization with age may be due to an increased realistic political understanding and a need to assume adult mannerisms.
 - (3) Developmental patterns exist with regard to the following:
 - (a) awareness of certain functions of political roles and of the public nature of certain roles. First there is an awareness of the federal and local governments, and there is an awareness of the executive before the legislative at each level (with the legislature first seen as subordinate to the executive).
 - (b) Candidate orientation, issue orientation and party identification are developmental, but party identification develops very rapidly.
 - (4) The explanations of the developmental patterns found are probably the following:

GREENSTEIN, Children and Politics, (cont.)

- (a) learning about an individual is easier than learning about a complex institution, so awareness of the executive precedes awareness of the legislative. Also, the executive is more important to adults than the legislative and they are more concerned with the federal government. Consequently, adults, as well as the mass media, discuss these aspects of the political environment more, so children are aware of them sooner.
 - (b) The child probably develops party identification more rapidly than issue orientation (or ideology) because it is cognitively simpler to deal with and he has more exposure to it.
- (5) Social class differences in political socialization exist with regard to the following:
- (a) Higher socio-economic status means greater participation, probably because of more leisure and financial resources, greater ability to link politics to one's personal life, the possession of verbal skills, and child-rearing practices which lead to greater participation (such as the respect given to children's opinions).
 - (b) With increasing socio-economic status come an increase in civil liberty liberalism, foreign policy liberalism, and moral liberalism and a decrease in economic liberalism.
 - (c) With increasing socio-economic status comes an increase in political information (of an informal kind), issue orientation and a decrease in idealization of political authority.
- (6) Political sex differences in adults also exist in children. These differences exist in the degree of interest and involvement in politics (men and boys being more interested in and having more information about politics than women and girls), and the direction of involvement (women being more candidate oriented, more moralistically oriented, and less supportive of war-like or aggressive policies).
- (7) The political sex differences in adults as reflected in children is probably due to sex role conceptions, situational factors (such as caring for the children) and child-adult relationships, peer relationships, and everyday obligations and amusements (boys more aggressive and willing to express hostility, engage in play activities and read things that are more politically related, and girls are more interested in persons and personal relations).

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "More on Children's Images of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1961, 25, 648-654.

Purpose: The author set out to compare results of his New Haven, Connecticut study with those obtained by Hess and Easton in Chicago.

Procedure: Data were obtained from a questionnaire given to 659 children in grades 4 through 8. The results reported here came from an open ended question asking children to describe the President's duties and from structured questions asking for evaluations of the President.

Findings: He found that the child's first apparent contact with politics is the figure of the President. The President serves as a defense symbol of government, through which other roles and institutions are slowly perceived (at the first being subordinate to the President, then becoming differentiated). Very positive evaluations are also evident, which decreases with age. The young child has an idealized view of the President. Possible explanations of such developmental trends are offered. It is suggested that seeing government as a hierarchical ladder, with the President at the top, may be a transfer of the family power structure, or a confusion of role functions of the various governmental positions; or so may be the case that perceiving the President first, and then institutions like the legislature second, one is led to assume that the second is subordinate to the first.

GREENSTEIN, FRED I., "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," Journal of Politics, 1961, 23, 353-371.

Purpose: Proceeding on the evidence which shows sex-related political differences in adults, the author attempts to show that such differences exist in childhood.

GREENSTEIN, "Sex-Related Political Differences in Childhood," (cont.)

Procedure: Information was obtained from the above mentioned sample of 659 New Haven, Connecticut children aged 9 - 14 who filled out paper and pencil questionnaires.

Findings: Girls indicate less information of a political nature than boys and political news in the media is of more interest to boys (they become more emotionally involved). These differences remained when social class was controlled for. The author offers two explanations. Firstly, there are differences in sex-role conceptions with regard to politics (as measured by the fact that both sexes indicated they would go to their father more than their mother for political advice). Politics is a man's business. Secondly, there are different child behaviors for the sexes in politically analogous areas. For instance, boys are more aggressive or willing to express hostility than girls (which may explain why men participate more and are less pacifist in issue orientation than women); girls are more interested in personal relations (which may be why women are more candidate oriented); and game differences show boys are more interested in things outside the home--in the outside environment. Even reading interests and interests in school classes (boys preferring social studies and science; girls English and foreign language) show boys are more interested in the wider environment.

HESS, ROBERT D., "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority Some Cross-National Comparisons," prepared for the S.S.R.C. Inter-American meeting of Sociologists, Princeton, September 10-12, 1962.

Purpose: This study attempted cross-national comparisons of children's images of their national leaders.

HESS, "The Socialization of Attitudes Toward Political Authority," (cont.)

Procedure: Questionnaires were administered to a sample of children aged 7-13 in Australia, Chile, Japan, Puerto Rica and the United States.

Findings: The authors found cross-national positive images of authority, but these images were more positive in the U.S.; status differences in image depending upon the country; and differential cross-national influence of home and school upon images of authority. There was not necessarily a congruence of father and Presidential images, leading the authors to hypothesize that the positive image of authority was a transfer of an ideal authority image because of a psychological need to overcome feelings of powerlessness, which lead to a prediction of cross-national differences as ideal authority images varied. Such differences were found. All countries generally showed age trends in the image of authority, also with competence generally increasing with age, and a positive image of honesty decreasing with age only in the U.S. (remaining about the same for other countries).

HESS, ROBERT, & EASTON, DAVID, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1960, 24, 632-644.

Purpose: To obtain information on the image of the President held by children of elementary school age.

Procedure: Approximately 350 children in grades 2 through 8 were given a multiple-choice questionnaire designed to elicit opinions about the personal and moral qualities of the President and his role competence.

Findings: With increase in age children perceived the President's personal qualities as less positive and his role competence as more positive. The

HESS & EASTON, "The Child's Changing Image of the President," (cont.)

image of the President was compared with children's images of their father and their images of a fictitious "President of China". The images of father and President were congruent, but these congruencies decreased with age. It was suggested that the image of the President may be a transfer of the father image. Because of the child's situation, however, it was hypothesized that the two images were congruent because of a need to see authority figures as benevolent due to a position of powerlessness and dependency. The image of the President and the "President of China" were fairly congruent, showing the President's image was not totally a result of partisan identification.

HESS, ROBERT, & EASTON, DAVID, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," School Review, 1962, 70, 257-65.

Purpose: Having found a substantial amount of political awareness and opinion among high school students and relatively little change in attitude between freshman and senior levels, the authors directed their attention to the study of political socialization in earlier years. They hoped "to explore the range and the nature of political figures on the child's cognitive field."

Procedure: Children in grades 2 through 8 were asked questions about the President of the United States, to write an essay describing the cartoon figure Uncle Sam, and to answer the question how can I help make our government better?

Findings: Children's images of the President and Uncle Sam are very positive, with very few expressions of hostility or even ambivalence. Increased emphasis

HESS & EASTON, "Role of the Elementary School in Political Socialization," (cont.)

on active participation by citizens is found with increases in children's ages.

With increasing age children begin to see the difference between the office of the presidency and the characteristics of the incumbent. This differentiation makes criticism of an individual compatible with a basic allegiance to government.

The developmental process described seemed to result from personal rather than formal learning.

Conclusions: The authors tentatively suggest that because of the high expressed interest and positive affect with regard to government among elementary school children that this might be the crucial time for a citizenship training course to be started.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," Part I, British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1963, 23, 47-60.

Purpose: Using Piaget's attempt to establish developmental concepts of country and nationality as a point of departure, Jahoda set out to analyze the gradual emergence of these concepts and to offer tentative developmental norms for children of contrasting socio-economic background.

Procedure: Subjects were 144 children from 4 schools (two middle-class and two working class) in Glasgow, Scotland. At each school, three boys and three girls from each of the 6 age levels (6 to 11) were individually interviewed in sessions averaging about 45 minutes. Children were asked direct questions about the relationships between Glasgow, Scotland, England and Britain, and

JAHODA, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," (cont.)

also given an opportunity to work with plastic peices of varying sizes designed to represent these four geographical entities. Additional questions dealt with the child's self identification, national identification, and notion of large cities.

Findings: Four geographic stages were delineated. Stage I children have no conception of Glasgow as an unitary whole; Stage II children understand that Glasgow is an entity in which they live, but do not think of it as part of Scotland or have accurate knowledge of Scotland and Britain; Stage III children conceive of Glasgow as part of Scotland, but not of Scotland as part of Britain; and by Stage IV the Glasgow, Scotland-Britain relationship is correctly expressed. Performance on the verbal and spatial tasks was positively related. Analysis of stages reached by type of school and age revealed that at all age ranges a higher proportion of children from middle-class schools hold more advanced concepts than those from working-class schools.

Conclusions: Jahoda's findings support the widely held concentric circles notion that a child's intellectual grasp of his environment begins in his immediate vicinity and gradually extends outwards.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," Part II, British Journal of Educational Psychology, 1963, 23, 143-153.

Purpose: To trace developmental stages in the acquisition of a number of symbolic concepts associated with nationality and patriotism.

JAHODA, "The Development of Children's Ideas About Country and Nationality," (cont.)

Procedures: The sample of 144 children described above was also used for this study. Children were asked to identify the national anthem from among six tunes played on a tape recorder and to answer questions about it and song preferences of Scotsmen. Similarly, the Union Jack was shown as one of nine pictured flags and questions were asked about it and the other flags. Finally, the children were asked to identify a number of emblems, and pictures, some typically Scottish, some not.

Findings: Children were able to list occasions and places, e.g. school ceremonies, church and Sunday school, when the TV goes off the air, when they heard the national anthem before they could give it's name or identify it as the national anthem. By the age of 8 or 9, most children knew the name of the anthem and associated it with the Queen. And for middle-class children, the song had generally become a national symbol by the time they reached 10 or 11.

Children were generally able to name the Union Jack correctly before they knew to attribute it to Britain as a whole rather than claiming it for Glasgow or Scotland. The youngest children focused on specific uses of the flag, e.g. you put it up when the Queen comes or buy it at the circus. Among the Scottish symbols shown, Robert Burns was probably the best recognized, regardless of social class of the children.

Conclusions: Jahoda ended his article with a plea to educators to take cognizance of such findings in their curricular planning and to question their assumptions about children's understanding of geographical terms.

JAHODA, GUSTAV, "Developmental of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries," Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 58, 91-108.

Purpose: This study attempts "to trace the gradual widening of children's social and geographical horizons, the manner in which their perceptions of other countries become organized, and the emergence of favorable or hostile attitudes at various stages."

Procedure: The same sample of 144 children was used. Children were asked if they had heard of foreign countries and, if so, to name them, and later to express certain preferences. Children who failed to name other countries were given a chance to show if they had at least learned to associate certain classes of words.

Findings: The expressions "foreign countries" or "countries outside Britain" were mostly understood in a more or less conventional way by middle-class children. For working-class children, they appear to have connotations emphasizing the strange, picturesque or exotic. Additional questions about countries liked or disliked revealed that preferences of the youngest children appear to be basic primarily on the appeal of the unusual or picturesque, especially of distant places. Among 8-9 year-olds, many of the preferences are justified in terms of stereotype images of the countries, e.g. skyscrapers, snow. By 10 or 11 children put more emphasis on people and their characteristics and less on scenery. He noted a definite shift with younger children attracted by exotic features of a country and older ones repelled by the strangeness of its people. The older children also reflected growing awareness of the cold war, particularly in their selection of countries disliked.

JAHODA, "Development of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries," (cont.)

Conclusions: Jahoda sees a space-time orientation developing concurrently with the acquisition and refinement of the concept of own and foreign countries.

LAMBERT, W. E., & KLINEBERG, O., "A Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes," UNESCO International Social Science Journal, 1959, 11, 221-238.

Purpose: The main purpose of this study was the development of adequate methodology for the study of the manner in which national stereotypes develop in children of different ages.

Procedure: Subjects were 6, 10, and 14 year-olds from English Canada, French Canada, England, Belgium and Holland. Each age group was made up of 40 to 50 children of middle socio-economic levels about equally divided between the sexes. In an interview, children were asked about their own identity (What are you?), whether they view other peoples as like or different from themselves, the types of descriptions which they associate with certain other peoples, their affective evaluation of them, and the sources of information about other people.

Findings: For all nationality groups, sex and child self-references decrease with age. Belgian and Dutch 6 year-old samples make considerable use of the child category. Religious self-identity is given more frequently by French and English Canadian groups than by the others. Reference to nationality as a self-reference increased with age. The Belgian sample shows a strong tendency to use the category even at the 10-year level, while few English children use a national reference before the 14-year level. At all ages, people (parents,

LAMBERT & KLINEBERG, "A Pilot Study of the Origin and Development of National Stereotypes," (cont.)

relatives, friends, and acquaintances) are important sources of information. Relatively speaking, however, people decrease in importance with age, while school and media increase. In describing other people, descriptions of personality tend to increase with age as do references to political and religious behavior and references to material possessions while descriptions of a physical-racial nature and those referring to clothing and customs decrease.

Numerous tables and a description of a structural technique for assessing stereotypes are presented.

LAWSON, EDWIN, "Development of Patriotism in Children -- A Second Look," The Journal of Psychology, 1963, 55, 279-286.

Purpose: An attempt, in part, to replicate an earlier study by Horowitz of the development of patriotic attitudes in children as assessed by preferences for flags of various nations.

Procedure: Subjects were 1040 school students, 20 boys and 20 girls from each grade (K through 12) of two school systems in upstate New York (one urban, one suburban). Each child was individually interviewed and asked to pick from an array of 20 pictured flags the one he liked best, second best, etc. Ranks chosen for each flag were recorded by grade level and sex in each school system, however, no differences between the sexes or the school systems appeared.

Findings: The U.S. flag is rated highest by the 1961 school children at all levels except Grade 10 and 11, but the pattern is quite different from that of the Horowitz study. In this study, appreciation is fairly constant from kindergarten on with an average percentage of about 70 (indicating that 70%

LAWSON, "Development of Patriotism in Children," (cont.)

of the children ranked the U.S. flag in the top five). In contrast, Horowitz showed a positive acceleration from 27% in Grade 1 to 100% in Grade 7. The Soviet flag rejected immediately and has the lowest scores in the study. It is chosen by 10% of the children in kindergarten, but declines to 1.25% in Grade 12. Appreciation of the UN flag is initially at chance level (25%) but thereafter increases steadily. At Grades 10 and 11 the UN flag is actually higher than the U.S. flag. Thus there is a steady growth in appreciation of the UN flag to the point where it is about the same as that of the U.S. There were two flags with animals -- Siam, showing elephants, and Iran, showing a lion. Whereas Horowitz reported the Siam flag highly chosen in Grade 1, there was no evidence in this investigation that perception of the animals led to a choice of these two flags.

Conclusions: The children in the 1961 sample apparently develop their attitudes at a substantially earlier age and show more sophistication than those in the 1936 study. Television is suggested as an important influence in this earlier attitude development.

LITT, EDGAR, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination," American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 69-75.

Purpose: The basic question asked by this study was whether differing political attitudes and norms of different socio-economic status groups affect the process of school indoctrination.

Location: The author chose three communities in the Boston metropolitan area, one of which was upper-middle class and politically active, one lower-

middle-class and moderately politically active, and one working class with little political activity. In each community he administered a questionnaire to high school students, interviewed civic leaders, and did a content analysis of civic education textbooks.

Findings: It was found that textbook emphasis upon politics as a process involving power and influence and resolution of group conflict was greater in the upper-middle class than the lower-middle or working-class communities. Emphasis upon political activity was greater for the upper- and lower-middle class communities, while emphasis on American political institutions was about equal for all three communities.

Community leaders in the different communities agreed on the importance of teaching about the democratic creed and the need for political participation but disagreed about presenting politics as a process involving power and influence and resolution of group conflicts. Only middle-class leaders felt the latter should be taught.

Conclusions: The authors conclude that students in the three different communities are being trained to play different political roles. Upper-middle-class students are being oriented toward a "realistic" and active view of the political process, working-class students toward a more "idealistic" or passive view.

PIAGET, J., & WEIL, ANNE-MARIE, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," UNESCO International Social Science Bulletin, 1951, III, 561-578.

Purpose: Using a Piagetian theoretical orientation, the authors tried to discover stages in the development of the concept of nationality.

PIAGET & WEIL, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were an unknown number of preschool and elementary school age children from Geneva, Switzerland, queried about where they live and asked to make value judgments about their country and others. The particular interview method used is not made clear.

Findings: The authors delineate three stages of geographic understanding which are paralleled by three stages of affective evaluation. Stage 1 children have only a simple notion of the territory in which they live, based on more or less direct knowledge of such characteristics as approximate size and main language spoken. They express no preference for Switzerland over other countries as "they lack the affective decentration needed to grasp collective realities outside of their own immediate interests just as they lack the logical decentration to understand that their town is included in a larger whole."

Stage 2 children can verbalize that Geneva is in Switzerland but they still tend to think of the two as being situated side by side. They will not deny that a Swiss living in another country is a foreigner but seem to feel that a Swiss is not exactly comparable to other people.

By Stage 3, when children fully grasp the ideal that Geneva is really part of Switzerland, the notion of country becomes a reality and takes on the idea of "homeland." This stage is reached somewhere between the ages of 7 and 11. These children have acquired the concept of reciprocity and will not state that Swiss are really right in thinking their country best.

Conclusions: The authors make two general observations: "One is that the child's discovery of his homeland and understanding of other countries is a

PIAGET & WEIL, The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland," (cont.)

process of transition from egocentricity to reciprocity. The other is that this gradual development is liable to constant setbacks, usually through the re-emergence of egocentricity on a broader or sociocentric plane."

TORNEY, JUDITH, & HESS, ROBERT, "The Child's Idealization of Authority," paper presented at the American Psychological Association, St. Louis, Missouri, 1962.

Purpose: To test out several possible explanations for the highly idealized image of the President held by children and the decrease in idealization which has been found to accompany increases in age.

Procedure: A structured questionnaire designed to elicit images of the President and fathers was given to approximately 1800 boys and girls of working and middle-class backgrounds. Two age groups were used: 7 and 9 and 10 and over.

Findings: The results were as follows:

- (1) Because an explanation of this idealized image as the imitation of parental attitudes implies that children of parents with the same political party as the President should have more idealized images (because their parents do), children of the two parental groups of the two parties were compared. No differences were found.
- (2) If positive idealization of the President is a generalization of a positive father image, then middle-class children who generally have a more positive image of the father than do children from working class homes, should have a more positive presidential image. This was not found.
- (3) A third explanation gained the most support from the data. A

TORNEY & HESS, "The Child's Idealization of Authority," (cont.)

highly positive idealized presidential image is a projection of an ideal authority image arising from the psychological need to play down feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness (which is most prevalent among young children). The following predictions were made and information was obtained:

- (a) Working-class children should show more idealization because their fathers are least close to an idealized image and because working-class children feel least protected and most vulnerable. This was found.
- (b) Working-class girls, who feel most vulnerable and unprotected, should show more idealization. This was found.
- (c) With increasing age comes cognitive differentiation of the President and his role from others, a greater knowledge of the Presidential role, and a decreased psychological need and ideal, the President should become a less appropriate object for the projection of ideals and needs, so idealization should decrease. Age trends are evident.

In conclusion the authors state that the perception of the President is found by an interaction between projection to satisfy psychological needs, cognitive differentiation and learning.

WEINSTEIN, EUGENE, "Development of the Concept of Flag and the Sense of National Identity," Child Development, 1957, 23, 167-174.

Purpose: To trace the development of the concept of flag and the sense of national identity and to assess the applicability of principles of concept

WEINSTEIN, "Development of the Concept of Flag," (cont.)

formation derived from other studies to a new content area.

Procedure: Forty-eight Bloomington, Indiana, elementary school children ranging in age from 5 to 12 years were individually interviewed. The battery of 22 open-ended questions included items asking for descriptions of the flag, where and under what conditions it flies, appropriate behavior in re the flag, whether or not the American flag could be changed, whether all countries have a flag, which flag is best and why, and whether someone from France would think the American flag is best. Responses were categorized and ranked for conceptual sophistication, then 10 scale types were delineated. These scale types ranged from Stage 1, in which the child viewed the flag as something to celebrate with without knowing why, through Stage 10, in which the child perceived the flag as a symbol and related this symbol to his notions of country, people and government.

Conclusions: Scalogram analysis indicated that the order in which the elements of understanding were acquired and the types of relationships comprehended was fairly stable from child to child, thus supporting other studies using a Piagetian framework.

ZELIGS, ROSE, "The Meaning of Democracy to 6th Grade Children," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1950, 76, 263-281.

Purpose: The author set out to assess the meaning of democracy in a variety of settings to 6th grade children. No developmental analysis was attempted. Democracy, as used here, is an all encompassing term not given any specific political meaning.

ZELIGS, "The Meaning of Democracy to 6th Grade Children," (cont.)

Procedure: Subjects were 150 children from four 6th grade classes of a Cincinnati suburban school interviewed in October, 1946. Children were asked a series of questions about democracy (e.g. what does it mean, do we have it in school, at home, how do we try to practice it?)

Findings: "To these sixth grade children, American democracy means the right of all races and creeds to worship, to work and to vote for their leaders and law-makers. It means freedom of speech and press, the right to belong to any political party they please, equal rights, a fair trial in court, and justice for all, rich and poor, white and colored, Jew and Gentile. It means fire and police protection, a fair chance and free schools for all."

Conclusions: Most children seemed to feel that they experienced democracy in their homes and at school (democracy in this sense was largely defined as fairness on the part of parents and teachers). "These children know the meaning of democracy and value it highly."

EASTON, DAVID, & HESS, R. D., "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 1962, 6, 229-246.

Purpose: The broad problem in which the authors are interested is with regard to what subjects and through what processes of socialization are basic political orientations transmitted from generation to generation in the American political system?

EASTON & HESS, "The Child's Political World," (cont.)

To make this process of political socialization researchable they developed a conceptual schema involving three levels of a political system - government regime and political community - which interact with three types of political orientation - knowledge, values and attitudes.

Procedure: The present article reports preliminary data derived from a national survey of 12,000 elementary school children (paper and pencil questionnaire).

Findings:

- (1) Before a child even enters elementary school he has acquired a good deal of political learning, e.g. that there is a difference between public and private sectors of life and that there is a higher authority outside the family whose rules must be obeyed.
- (2) By the time the child enters high school his basic political orientations to regime and community have become quite firmly entrenched.
- (3) The high point in reported political interest probably occurs in 7th or 8th grade.
- (4) Children's positive feelings about their political community are related to general fondness for their immediate concrete environment.
- (5) For many children support for the political community has religious overtones. God and country are often entangled. The authors attribute the impact to "an association in the child's mind of the form and feeling tone of religious ritual with the political ceremony of pledging allegiance."
- (6) Children's attachment to the structure of the regime develops through recognition of an authority outside the family and school. In the United States the authority represented to young children by the President and the policeman.
- (7) The authors suggest that children's idealization of authority figures (political or otherwise) may reflect important psychological needs.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S.

These articles listed below all came out of the same study undertaken about ten days after the assassination of President Kennedy, and the findings are based on pencil and paper questionnaires administered to 1349 school children grades 6-12 in greater Detroit encompassing a population widely stratified with respect to social class, ethnicity, race and religion.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President", (from Children and the Death of a President: Multi-disciplinary Studies, edited by Wolfenstein & Kliman, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965)

This article contains material on 1) children's notions of justice, due process, etc.; 2) children's interpretations and reactions to the Kennedy assassination and a comparison to those of adults; and 3) a replication of some of the Hess and Easton items.

Children's comprehension of due process of law was tested via their reactions to Oswald and Ruby and their notions of the legal treatment that the two should have been accorded. Elementary school children had only very incomplete notions of the operation of due process and were frequently unwilling to accord Oswald the customary protection of our legal system. Social class differences were also pronounced--in general, lower class children were less concerned with due process of law. In their emotional reactions to the death of the President, children and adults were very similar (with the exception of reactions against Oswald, where adults were less vindictive). However, children differed from adults in their interpretation of events. Fewer children interpreted the murder of the President as an international or domestic conspiracy and only very few children even thought that a foreign power was involved. Except for

POLITICAL SCIENCE--EMPIRICAL

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "An Exploration into some Aspects of Political Socialization: School Children's Reactions to the Death of a President", (cont.)

the above-noted differences, the similarities were striking. The impact of political party also cannot be ignored; for example, children of Democratic parents professed to greater grief over the death than did children of Republican parents.

The replication of the Hess and Easton items corroborated their findings that children's view of the President is very positive, not to say idealized. However, the introduction of additional questions designed by us (several of them open-ended) would seem to indicate that children's idealization is not unlimited but tempered by the awareness that the system has endured Presidents who were not worthy of admiration. This finding would seem to indicate that the data which points to the idealization of the President and to the important role he plays in children's political imagery may be exaggerated and may be an artifact of the type of instrument commonly used to test imagery.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "The Political Image of President John F. Kennedy,"
(can be obtained by writing to the author)

Children at a remarkably early age seem to know a great deal about specific acts and issues for which the late President stood. Noticably, they were aware of his efforts on behalf of peace and civil rights. The detail of some of their knowledge makes one question whether children are as politically unaware of the environment around them as previous literature would have indicated.

Another finding seems to indicate that the children, even young children, see the President first and foremost as a political figure who is engaged in specific political actions and not merely as a symbolic figure, such as the leader of the chief executive, let alone as a father substitute. They also seem to be able to compartmentalize their feelings of personal like or dislike for the person of the President from their awareness and their approval or disapproval of political actions of the President. Political actions seem the more salient ones in the assessment of the President--at least by 10th grade. This would again indicate that the President is seen first and foremost as a political figure and not as a symbol or friend.

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., "Television and the Reactions of Schoolchildren to the Assassination", (from The Kennedy Assassination and the American Public, edited by Greenberg & Parker, Stanford Press).

The focus of this study does not deal so much with children's political concepts as with the contribution of television to children's comprehension of the fatal weekend. The one relevant point here to comment on is that although there were resemblances between the events of the assassination weekend and episodes frequently viewed by TV watchers in Wild West shows, few children transferred their Wild West viewing standards to the political scene; that is, few of them judged Ruby as a hero who avenged the country by killing the "bad guy".

SIGEL, ROBERTA S., editor, Political Socialization: Its Role in the Political Process, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361, September, 1965.

The volume contains a variety of articles which spell out either conceptually and/or empirically the linkage between family, school and other agents and the subsequent political imagery, attitudes and actions of children; see especially the article by David Easton and Jack Dennis abstracted above.

HUCK, CHARLOTTE STEPHENA, "The Nature and Deprivation of Young Children's Social Concepts," Northwestern University, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Field of Education, 1955.

Purposes:

- (1) Determine the nature and amount of information possessed by suburban children in the first grade with respect to certain areas of the social sciences--political, economic, sociological, technological, geographical, historical, cultural and recreational.
- (2) Determine when possible the stated sources of children's information.
- (3) Ascertain relationship between level of understanding achieved for each concept and stated sources of information. Are some sources more accurate in that they provide for a greater depth of understanding of the concept?
- (4) Ascertain relationship between amount of information in each area and the child's IQ.
- (5) Ascertain sex differences in amount of information possessed.

Procedures: Subjects--114 first grade children (55 boys, 59 girls) from 5 schools in high socio-economic status North Chicago suburbs. Mean IQ for boys--112, girls--116, total 114. Kuhlman-Anderson Test B 107, or 94 % of children had television in their homes.

Children were individually interviewed in two sessions, October 1954 through January 1955, and asked for information on 75 concepts. Generally, there were 3 types of questions on each concept: 1) those asking for recognition or identification of a word, picture or object; 2) those asking for the function of an object or person or geographical location; and 3) those asking for further or extended information depending upon the nature of the concept.

SOCIAL SCIENCE (GENERAL)

HUCK, CHARLOTTE STEPHENA, The Nature and Deprivation of Young Children's Social Concepts," (cont.)

Examples of concept: Historical--dinosaurs, pyramids, Columbus, Pilgrims, George Washington, A. Lincoln, 4th of July, Wright brothers, covered wagon; Political--fire engine, community helpers taxes, election, Pres. Eisenhower, Russian, Queen Elizabeth, War.

Findings:

- (1) Boys seem to have a greater fund of information concerning certain social studies areas than have girls.
- (2) Both boys and girls seem to excel in their information concerning technological and recreational concepts.
- (3) Historical concepts have little meaning for either boys or the girls. The periods which are the most remote from the present are the first to be learned. (n.b. this probably based on kid's interest in dinosaurs.)
- (4) A child's grasp of a concept usually involves partial knowledge rather than complete knowledge or complete ignorance.

There was also some evidence that:

- (1) Suburban children in the first grade have extended their information to include more than their immediate community environment. Or this might be stated that children's immediate environments had been extended to include more of the world and the universe.
- (2) The more remote and dramatic concepts tend to be remembered more readily than do the near and familiar ones.

MEISTER, ALBERT, "Perception and Acceptance of Power Relations in Children," Group Psychotherapy, 1956, 9, 153-163.

Purpose: This research was based on Piaget's distinction between two types of social relations--constraint (which implies an element of unilateral respect, authority and prestige) and cooperation (which implies exchange between equal individuals). The author wanted to examine developmental trends in children's acceptance of the two kinds of social relations.

Procedure: Two different studies are reported here. One was based on observations of 4 to 12 year-old children playing hopscotch. The sample consisted of 33 groups of 3 to 5 children each. In a separate but related study approximately 650 children aged 8 to 18 were asked the following questions: "When you play the 'game of catch' during recreation period, do you think that one of you must command, direct, or do you think that nobody must command?" (Yes or no.) "Who does command when you play the game during recreation period?" (Name.) "Why is it he who commands?"

Findings: From the hop scotch study the author concluded that group life passed through a stage of authoritarian relations (characteristic of ages 7 to 11) before equalitarian cooperative behavior was established. The transition phase from authoritarian to equalitarian structure is a long one which may be influenced by the difficulty of the task.

The second study revealed that an autocratic leader in a game of catch decreased regularly from 8 to 12 years after which it was rather stable (between 20 and 40%). With increased age children designate fewer and fewer leaders. The older children were so used to equal reciprocal relations that questions about the necessity of a leader (even with the word "to command" in the question) to them implied the idea of a democratic leader.

STRAUSS, ANSELM, "The Development of Conceptions of Rules in Children," Child Development, 1954, 25, 193-208.

Purpose: "This paper will report a study of the dawning of awareness of some rules governing transactions having to do with purchasing and will discuss the bearing that this material has both upon the development of moral rules in general and upon the theories currently accounting for this development."

Procedure: Subjects were 66 middle-class children ages $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ (approximately 5 girls and 5 boys at each age). A schedule of 71 questions was administered in 4 sittings lasting 15 to 30 minutes each. Items were scored by arbitrary weightings. Each child's responses to every item were scored and children were arrayed in rank order by total score. Guttman type scale analysis was then applied.

Findings: Children's awareness of rules is shown to develop through a series of stages, each of which is a necessary condition for movement to the next. In early stages, rules are definitional, they have no rationale except that they exist, and apply to specific situations. As higher stages are reached, rules cover more extensive activities of increasing numbers of related role players. To understand these more complex rules, the child must lose some of his egocentricity and learn to take into account simultaneously and systematically increasing numbers of perspectives.

Conclusions: Strauss feels his findings support George Mead's emphasis on the intimate relations between conceptual and role learning. Mead had underlined the importance of the development of the ability to grasp the related perspectives of others, and the parallel rise of symbols or concepts.

BRIM, O. G., "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," Items, Social Science Research Council, 18, No. 1, 1964.

Socialization is conceived of as the process by means of which individuals acquire knowledge, skills and dispositions, both with relationship to behavior and values, that make them able members of society. It is assumed that childhood socialization cannot completely prepare a person for all the roles he will be expected to fill at a later time both because the individual moves through a sequence of different positions at different stages of the life cycle and because of changes of demands on a person due to social and/or geographical mobility and change in societal customs.

The author goes to to specify some of the different dimensions of the learner-socializing agent relationship and how this relationship may vary on these dimensions depending upon the stage of the life cycle. The dimensions specified and the resulting classifications are as follows:

- (1) Degree of formality or institutionalization of the learner-agent relationship, made up of explicitness of role of learner and whether socializing agent represents formal organization. This yields:
 - (a) formal organization, learner's role specified
 - (b) informal organization, learner's role specified (most common in childhood socialization)
 - (c) formal organization, learner's role not specified (most common in adult socialization)
 - (d) informal organization, learner's role not specified.
- (2) Group context of person being socialized, made up of whether group or individual is learning and whether series of groups or individuals are socialized or just one group or person is socialized. This yields:
 - (a) individual, disjunctive
 - (b) individual, serial
 - (c) group, disjunctive
 - (d) group, serial.

BRIM, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," (cont.)

These dimensions create another dimension of the socialization situation, which is the degree to which the learner can influence the agent. This influence is dependent upon the group solidarity of the group being socialized (allowing organization of resistance) and the degree to which socialized learners transmit information to learners following them, a serial situation, which allows learners to manipulate agents in their own interest.

- (3) Quality of socialization relationship, made up of power of socializing agent and affectivity of relationship. This yields:
 - (a) high power, affective -- affective rewards and punishment large (most common for childhood socialization)
 - (b) high power, affectively neutral
 - (c) low power, affectively neutral (most common in adult socialization)
 - (d) low power, affective
- (4) Content of socialization relationship, made up of whether knowledge skills (ability) or motivation is being passed on either with regard to behavior or values. This also leads to a classification of six categories. Childhood socialization is most concerned with inculcating motivation with regard to values (impulse control) while adult socialization is usually most concerned with the inculcation of knowledge with regard to behavior (carving appropriate role behavior).

Brim's article provides some interesting and useful dimensionalizing of the socialization process, and some interesting suggestions as to how the socialization process will vary along these dimensions at various stages of the life cycle.

EMMERICH, WALTER, "Family Role Concepts of Children Ages Six to Ten," Child Development, 1961, 32, 609-624.

Purpose: This study investigated the development of children's concepts of intrafamilial sex and age roles, taking off from the theoretical position that role perception is an important determinant of social action.

Procedure: 225 middle-class children 6 - 10 years old were given a modified paired comparison test in which they were asked to decide which of two figures shown (mother-father, mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, father-daughter) had most power and also to indicate attitudinal direction (that is, positive or negative feelings) toward the figures presented.

Findings:

- (1) Much greater consensus on power dimension of parent roles than on attitudinal dimension. Girls discriminated age roles on power dimension somewhat more than boys, although both groups assigned high power actions to the adult and low power actions to the child.
- (2) Both girls and boys perceived the father's sex role as more powerful than the mother's. Girls perceive their mothers as more positive, boys - their fathers.
- (3) In discriminating child sex roles, girls assigned positive actions to girls and negative actions to boys uniformly, boys apply it more selectively, depending upon the situation. For example, both boys and girls indicated that girls would be more likely to do the "right thing" and avoid trouble.

GOODMAN, MARY E., Race Awareness in Young Children, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1952.

Purpose: This book, reflecting the author's anthropological training, attempts a holistic approach to the basic question--How do race attitudes begin?

Procedures: Subjects were 103 four-year-olds from integrated nursery schools in an unidentified city in northeastern United States. Each child was observed at length. Case study records attempted to order information about the child, his identification, use of labels, social awareness and personal esthetic preferences, his living conditions, relations with his family, etc. Experimental situations involved doll play and jigsaw puzzles. Children were given family dolls of mixed colors and asked to make families. The jigsaw puzzles were specially constructed to assess children's consciousness of kind--both animal and human. The backgrounds and behavior of these children are presented in a highly readable fashion apparently designed to get the reader to "know" the children and what makes them tick.

Findings: Young children first see the more conspicuous features of people and the more conspicuous differences between them. Little children are ready to pay attention to race just as soon as they pay attention to other physical--and socially significant--attributes like age and sex. Moreover, in addition to this intellectual awareness, many four-year-olds, particularly white ones, showed signs of the onset of racial bigotry. "The process (by which patterned race attitudes get across to very young children) ... is perhaps less a matter of transmission than of regeneration. This is to say that there begins early and proceeds gradually, in each individual a process much more complex than the sheer learning of someone else's attitudes. It is rather that each

GOODMAN, Race Awareness in Young Children, (cont.)

individual generates his own attitudes, out of the personal, social and cultural materials which happen to be his ... our individuals tend to get hold of rather similar materials and hence eventually to generate rather similar attitudes." (p. 219).

HARTLEY, RUTH E., "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 1960, 6, 83-91.

Purpose: In view of the widespread concern over the adjustment of women to their status and function, this study was undertaken to study the process by which sex roles are internalized.

Procedure: Subjects were 156 children--47 boys and 110 girls, ages 5, 8 and 11 years. Approximately half of the children had working mothers. These children were seen from 8 to 12 times and tested by widely varying techniques--play situations, pictorial and verbal tests, projectives, etc. Data reported here is derived from one pictorial projective type test and one indirect verbal device.

Findings: Of a total of 640 items mentioned for women, 64.5% were traditional domestic activities having to do with household care and management, child care and relations with husbands. Significantly more sons of working mothers than sons of non-working mothers assigned work role activities to women. Among girls, the fact of having a working mother apparently had less impact. Out of 143 subjects who gave scorable responses, approximately 64% perceived the woman as suffering some degree of discomfort at leaving a young child to go to work. This perception of discomfort gradually increased with age from

HARTLEY, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," (cont.)

55% at age five to 60% at eight, and 73% at eleven. This may be attributable to the lesser egocentricity of the older child or may reflect the more intensive work commitment taken on by mothers of 11-year-olds. The author suggests this may explain why significantly fewer 11-year-old girls than younger ones said they expected to work after they have a family.

Conclusions: Basic home-making duties are still seen as the woman's; the money-getting role is still primarily the man's. Whenever women are perceived to have assumed the work role, or fathers to be occupied with domestic activities, they are seen as helping the marriage partner. No hint of female-male competitiveness in sex role functioning seems to be perceived by children. Any changes seem to be merely in the direction of more flexibility.

HARTLEY, RUTH E., HARDESTY, FRANCIS P., & GORFEIN, DAVID S., "Children's Perceptions and Expressions of Sex Preference," Child Development, 1962, 33, 221-227.

Purpose: To investigate children's perceptions of parental sex preferences as one way to test out the widely held notion of male valuation and female devaluation in present day Western culture.

Procedure: Subjects were 132 eight and eleven-year-olds (91 girls, 41 Boys) from upper- and lower-middle class backgrounds. Children were told a hypothetical story about a couple going to adopt a baby and asked which sex child they thought the husband and wife would prefer. They were also asked about future family plans for themselves and whether they would rather have boys or girls.

HARTLEY et al, "Children's Perceptions and Expressions of Sex Preference," (cont.)

Findings: Both boys and girls perceived adults as preferring children of the same sex as the adult being considered. Similarly, a majority of girls expressed a desire to have girls when they became mothers, and most boys wanted to have boys when they became fathers.

Conclusions: "These findings seem to call into question the validity of the assumption that a culturally enforced adult partiality for males is generally operant in children's sex role identification and development."

HARTLEY, RUTH E., & KLEIN, ARMIN, "Sex -role Concepts Among Elementary School Age Girls," Marriage and Family Living, 1959, 21, 59-64.

Purpose: This study was designed to study by systematic methods what happens to girls in the process of growing up which may promote the pronounced and unresolved ambivalence evidenced so widely by adult women.

Procedure: A group of 272 eight and eleven-year-old girls, and 11 eight and eleven-year-old boys were given a list of activities, places and objects appropriate to certain roles and asked to identify them as characteristically male, female, or not sex linked.

Findings: Girls deemed 70% of the items to be sex typed, while adults sex typed 67% of the items. Recreational behaviors were sex typed the least. When asked what they would like to do when they grow up, girls expressed a preference for sex appropriate activities. No differences between eight and eleven-year-olds were significant.

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown. Their Awareness of the Symbols of Social Class. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

Purpose: To examine developmental trends in children's awareness of social class differences and such related questions as their perceptions of behavior appropriate to different classes and the extent to which their choice of friends seemed influenced by social class status.

Procedure: Subjects were 107 children in grades 1, 4, 6, and 8 representing three social class levels (which the author has labelled upper-middle, white collar, and working) from an unidentified midwestern city. Ratings on the social class position of each child were obtained from people in the community and group intelligence test scores were examined. In addition, in individual sessions, each child was interviewed, given a "Guess Who" test, and a picture rating task. The interview focused primarily on after school activities. In the "Guess Who" test, children were asked to guess the name of the child in the room who is the best ball player, has the most spending money, lives in the best section of town, etc. Four sets of pictures (depicting different types of homes, clothing, recreation and occupation) were shown to try to find out what symbols of class the children of different grade levels might recognize. The pictures had been chosen to convey scenes typical of various classes. A fifth set of pictures was used to find out if along with increasing awareness children were also developing ideas about certain aspects of social class behavior. This set included 8 pictures, 4 showing desirable behavior, 4 undesirable. Children were asked to associate pictures with social class levels and asked questions around the subject, e.g., do rich people ever steal?

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown (cont.)

Findings: Stendler devotes a chapter to analyzing results of each task. Putting this information together she posits the existence of 4 stages of awareness of social class levels. Stage 1 (Pre-awareness) is characteristic of most first graders and even some 4th graders. At this level the terms rich and poor have little meaning for the child; they are halo terms applied to things and people he likes or dislikes. He likes to boast about himself and therefore claims he and his friends are rich, he lives in the best house, has the most toys, etc. His choice of friends shows little awareness of class differences, and his career aspirations (cowboy, policeman, pilot) reflect a desire for color without regard for social class position. Stage 2 (Beginnings of Awareness) extends from before the 4th grade to beyond the sixth. These children can recognize some of the symbols of social class, particularly those with which they have had experience. They are most accurate in ratings of pictures and people representing lower classness than higher levels. They still do not know about the kind of houses in which their classmates live, or what their fathers do for a living. Social class is apparently not considered in choice of friends or future occupations. State 3 (Acceptance of Adult Stereotypes) begins before 6th grade and continues through the 8th. "Here the children reveal their awareness of social class symbols in many ways. They can rate pictures according to class more accurately than before, and the reasons they give for their ratings have to do with the exclusiveness of what they see, or the money involved, or the privileges accompanying a particular class station. They rate the class position of their schoolmates on the basis of home and family, occupation of the father, clothes and manners, but they are reluctant to name class-mates for unfavorable socio-economic items and deny

STENDLER, CELIA B., Children of Brasstown (cont.)

class differences by stating the "nobody" represents the undesirable. They reflect the many contradictions about class which are prevalent in our culture." Stage 4 (Recognition of Individual Differences Among Children Regardless of Social Class) showed up in only a few children in the study. At this level the child knows what class symbols mean to most people, but he prefers to make judgments in terms of individuals.

VAUGHN, GRAHAM M., "Concept Formation and the Development of Ethnic Awareness," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1963, 103, 93-103.

Purpose: To examine the development of ethnic awareness within a framework of concept formation.

Procedure: Subjects were 180 white children between 4 and 12 years of age (20 at each age level) in nursery and elementary schools in Wellington, New Zealand. Children were given seven tests designed to measure degree of ethnic awareness.

Findings: Where the concept of race is involved, an identification response precedes ontogenetically the more usual discrimination response. Even the youngest children were able to show which of two dolls (one white, one Maori) was most like them and to select a picture of a white doll when asked which of six pictures (three white, three Maori) was most like them. Discrimination tasks involved picking out the picture which is different by virtue of race while classification responses were those in which the word "label" was actually used. No consistent or significant sex differences were found.

STEVENSON, H. W., & STEWART, E.C., "A Developmental Study of Racial Awareness in Young Children," Child Development, 1958, 29, 399-409.

Purpose: To study trends in the development of racial attitudes among young children.

Procedure: Subjects were 225 children between the ages of 3 and 7 from segregated school and neighborhoods in Austin, Texas. Both Negro and white children of both sexes were included at each age level.

Four tests, using pictures and dolls, were developed to investigate children's ability to discriminate the physical differences between Negroes and whites and their racial preferences and attitudes.

Findings:

- (1) There is a great and relatively consistent increase with age in the proportion of children who correctly assemble dolls by age. At 4 of the 5 age levels the proportion of white children assembling the dolls correctly was higher than it was for Negro children.
- (2) White children are much more likely to pick a doll of their own race to play with than Negro children.
- (3) Negro children also demonstrated a greater frequency of own race rejection than white children in selecting playmates, companions to go home with, and guests for a birthday party.

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY:
PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

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DANZINGER, K., "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms: A Study in the Development of Relational Concept," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1957, 91, 213-232.

Purpose: To study development in children's understanding of kinship terms as one approach to the study of problems associated with the transition from non-relational thinking.

Procedure: Subjects were 41 children (20 boys and 21 girls) between the ages of 5 and 8 from a single school in Melbourne, Australia. In an interview lasting approximately 25 minutes children were asked questions about 5 kinship terms--brother, sister, daughter, uncle and cousin (e.g. What is a brother? Have you got a sister? Can a lady be a daughter? Can a father be an uncle?).

Findings: Definitions of kinship terms fell into three levels. Eight of the 120 responses were precategory--the child merely mentioned the name of a person when asked to define a term. Categorical definitions (e.g. "A brother is a boy." "A cousin is a friend.") predominate at ages 5 and 6, while relational definitions (e.g. "A cousin is your uncle's son or daughter." "A daughter is mother's little girl.") are more common at age 8. Categorical stage children divide "individuals by their properties, but these are always thought of as simple attributes, not as relations uniting the individual with others." At this stage the failure to handle relations leads to a failure of logical multiplication. Children cannot conceive of membership in two classes at the same time.

Relational definitions were usually expressed in a specific way, but some children stated such relationships in general or abstract form. Children in the concrete phase of the relational level could usually grasp the reciprocity of a relationship between two people other than themselves, but that

DANZINGER, "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms," (cont.)

reciprocity broke down when they themselves were involved. The interconnection of relations and their permanence are the two most important characteristics of the general level of relational thinking. At the higher or general level the relationship is linked up with others to form a system and its definition derives from its position in the system.

Conclusions: Intellectual development requires the interaction of form and content. "Development therefore depends on the type of intellectual content that becomes available to the child during its growth."

ELKIND, DAVID, "Children's Conceptions of Brother and Sister: Piaget Replication Study V," Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1962, 100, 129-139.

Purpose: To see to what extent the findings of Piaget about children's conceptions of brother and sister would replicate with a different population.

Procedure: Subjects were 210 five to eleven-year-old Jewish children from relatively small families. The series of questions developed by Piaget and reported in Judgment and Reasoning in the Child were used.

Findings: There was generally good agreement between the findings of the original and replication studies as to which tests were passed at various ages and the kinds of responses obtained. The interpretations placed on the results differ however. Elkind feels that Piaget's tests measured two developments - the class conception of brother and the relational conception of having a brother. While both class and relational conceptions developed in three stages, the stages were different in character and appeared at different ages.

HARTLEY, EUGENE L., ROSENBAUM, MAX, & SCHWARTZ, SHEPARD, "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference; An Exploratory Study of Children's Conceptualizations of Multiple Ethnic Group Membership," J. of Psychology, 1948, 26, 367-86.

Purpose: To study developmental trends in children's identification of themselves, their parents and neighbors, and children's understanding of the meaning of commonly used ethnic terms and multiple group identifications.

Procedures: Subjects were 42 boys and 44 girls aged 3:5 to 10:5, all of whom were attending either the nursery school or the after-school clubs of a neighborhood center located in the Bronx in New York City. All the children came from upper-lower class neighborhoods where the employed persons were generally craftsmen or skilled operatives. Forty-one of the children were Jewish, 26 Catholic, and 19 Protestants; 76 were white, 10 Negro. In individual interviews held in 1947, the children were asked questions about where they lived, what kind of people lived around their house, what they are, what is a Daddy, and what is a Daddy when he goes to work.

Findings: With increasing age children shift, in describing both themselves and the people around them, from the use of names of specific individuals to the use of ethnic designations.

In their disparate answers to questions, "What is Daddy?" and "When Daddy goes to work, what is he?" children gave evidence that changes in the structuring of the situation considerably influence conceptualization.

When asked to define "American" considerable numbers of children at each age level evade the question or indicate that they don't know. Among those who do answer, younger children tend to think of American in symbolic terms or as an activity level. Tautological responses (e.g. "American means to live in America") are common from 6:6 on up, as are activities. These two types of responses are still found in the 8:6 to 10:5 group and responses of

HARTLEY et al. "Children's Use of Ethnic Frames of Reference," (cont.)

a personal quality appear, e.g. "to be kind and nice."

Children at this age do not employ usual frames of reference. Thus many children felt it was possible to be both Jewish and Catholic but not Jewish and American or Negro and Protestant.

Conclusions: Four principles of the operation of frames of reference in self-identification, identification of others, conceptualization of ethnic terms and understanding of multiple group membership seemed to emerge: "(1) the primary frame of reference evoked by a defined situation varies with age and background; (2) at a given age, different, even though related situations evoke different types of reference frames; (3) alternative frames of reference used by children do not accord with adult logical systems; (4) reference frames, which to the adult are mutually exclusive, are not necessarily incompatible for children."

HARTLEY, EUGENE, ROSENBAUM, MAX, & SCHWARTZ, SHEPARD, "Children's Perceptions of Ethnic Group Membership," Journal of Psychology, 1948, 26, 387-398.

Purpose: To explore some of the developmental aspects of role perception. Special attention was given to the role of being Jewish in America and to awareness of shifts in role.

Procedure: Information about the ages at which children define themselves as Jewish and its meaning to them was obtained from individual interviews with the above mentioned sample of 86 children. Awareness of shifts in role was assessed through interviews with another sample of 120 children who were asked about parental roles and "worker" roles.

HARTLEY, et al, "Children's Perceptions of Ethnic Group Membership," (cont.)

Findings: Four ways of perceiving multiple roles were identified. The authors suggest that there may be a progression with age from 1 through 4.

- (1) The person is perceived as identical with and limited to the single role in which he is observed...
- (2) the individual is perceived as having at least one continuing role plus a number of momentarily occupied roles...
- (3) the individual is perceived as consisting of all the roles he occupies...
- (4) there is selectivity: an individual is perceived as functioning in a permanent or momentarily defined role but retains the potentiality for being other things.

The authors suggest that the manner in which an individual perceives a particular role must be of paramount importance in determining the meaning of specific situations for him.

KAGAN, JEROME, HOSKEN, BARBARA, & WATSON, SARA, "Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of Parents," Child Development, 1961, 32, 625-636.

Purpose: To investigate the child's differential conceptualization of the concepts of mother, father and self on a variety of symbolic dimensions.

Procedure: Subjects were 98 white children (59 boys and 39 girls) between the ages of six and eight. All were from intact families.

Sixty-six pairs of picture stimuli were used to assess conceptualizations.

Each of 11 dimensions (strong-weak, big-little, nurturant-nonnurturant, competent-incompetent, punitive-nonpunitive, dangerous-harmless, dirty-clean, dark hue-light hue, cold-warm, mean-nice, and angular-rounded) was presented six times with six different pairs of relevant pictures. After E's verbal description of each stimulus, S was asked to point to the picture that he felt reminded him of his father, mother, and on the third session, himself.

KAGAN, et al, "Child's Symbolic Conceptualization of Parents," (cont.)

The final test which occurred in the third session consisted of 12 pictures in which a girl or boy was illustrated (separate pictures were used for boys and girls) in a situation but with no adult shown. The child was asked to state which parent was missing. The pictures were designed to suggest parental nurturance, punitiveness, or strength.

Findings: The results indicate that boys and girls agreed that father, in relation to mother, was stronger, larger, more dangerous, more dirty, darker, and more angular. There were no significant differences on the first part of the test where no choice was required between children's perception of one parent as being more nurturant, cold, or competent than the other. On the final test, when the children were forced to choose between parents, it was found that they perceived the mother as more nurturant than the father.

Children perceived themselves as being more similar to the same sex than opposite sex parent.

MOTT, SINA M., "Concept of Mother," Child Development, 1954, 25, 99-106.

Purpose: To investigate the conception of "mother" held by four and five-year-olds.

Procedure: Subjects were 18 four-year-olds and 18 five-year-olds. The children were told that the interviewer wanted to know more about their mother. They were asked what she looked like, what she did in the home, and then they were asked about her age, size, color of eyes, and color of hair. After these questions the children were asked five more questions, one on each of five successive days, depicting possible occurrences in the home. They were asked whether

MOTT, "Concept of Mother," (cont.)

their father or mother would be most likely to respond to the situation, e.g.

"If you need a new pair of shoes, who will take you to get them?"

The second part of the test required the Ss to make five drawings, one on each of five successive days. They were asked to draw mother, mother and themselves, mother and father, family, and mother, father and yourself.

Findings: Mott found that in the drawings the mother was always drawn in the middle between the father and child. Further, the mother was always drawn smaller than the father and almost always larger than the child. The mother was most often depicted as working in the house.

She found that the child begins calling his mother "mother" or "mommy" (child-mother relation). The mother is next called "Mrs. ____" (family relation) and in due time the child is able to give his mother's personal name. One suspects that the labels a four-year-old child gives to its mother represent his awareness that his mother is called by different names but not his recognition of the relationships denoted by such labels. Mott's conclusion is that the meaning of "mother" becomes richer and more definite as the child matures.

PIAGET, JEAN, Notions of kinship from Judgment and Reasoning in the Child, trans. by Marjorie Warden. Patterson, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams, 1959.

Purpose: To get information on developmental stages in children's reasoning ability, more specifically their notions of relationship.

Procedures: Individual examinations were given to 240 children of both sexes between the ages of 4 and 12. There were six questions of varying orders of

PIAGET, Notions of kinship from Judgment and Reasoning in the Child (cont.)

of difficulty about family (brother-sister) relationships. An additional series of six questions about relationships of right and left was added to see if logical relationships in an area not influenced by egocentricity develops along the same line as those involving family relationships.

Findings:

- (1) Children below age 10 can not tell how many brothers and sisters their own brothers and sisters have. Piaget attributes this to their inability to leave their own point of view.
- (2) Ideas about class membership are much easier for children to learn than those involving relations.
- (3) The relativity of the term "brother" is realized very slowly. At first one is a brother as one is a boy - in the absolute sense. In the second stage, the child has some notion of relativity but tends to identify only one child in a family as a brother. Correct judgment of relations appears about age 7.
- (4) Children's definitions of family go through three similar stages:
 - (a) All people who live with the child are considered family. Family is defined by house or name.
 - (b) At about 9 the child begins to use the idea of blood-relationship but family relationship is not independent of time and place.
 - (c) In stage 3, usually reached at about 11, the child defines the family solely by relationship and begins to think of family more broadly to include grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins.

Conclusions: The findings of stages of development in notions of kinship are related to stages of development in general reasoning ability.

Persons interested in knowing current research as it becomes available may find the following sources helpful:

- 1) Child Developmental Abstracts and Bibliography -- published three times a year by the Society for Research in Child Development.
- 2) Current Researches in Education and Educational Psychology -- occasional publication of the Information Service of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.
- 3) Psychological Abstracts -- published bimonthly by the American Psychological Association.
- 4) Review of Educational Research -- published bimonthly by the American Educational Research Association.

The Encyclopedia of Educational Research published by the American Educational Association of the National Education Association comes out about once a decade. It is a good point of departure for any studies in the area. See particularly the section on Concepts by David Russell in the 1960 edition which deals with the history of the study of concepts, children's knowledge of concepts, and teaching for concept development. A sizeable bibliography is included.

Section 12

A TEACHING STRATEGY DERIVED FROM
SOME PIAGETIAN CONCEPTS

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Family Life

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CHILD DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
PART IV: A TEACHING STRATEGY DERIVED
FROM SOME PIAGETIAN CONCEPTS

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Introduction

In a previous report to the Consortium (Sigel, 1966), a number of Piagetian concepts were described as relevant to curriculum development in the social sciences. In that report the development of a number of intellectual characteristics of children were identified and it was shown how these could be taken into account when planning curricula. The basic assumption in that report was that intellectual development is sequential, orderly and irreversible. Specific characteristics of elementary school children were identified and their changes with increased maturity were described. For example, it was pointed out that elementary school children in the early grades tend to take things more literally than they do at a later age. This suggests that care must be taken in presenting material to young children--in kindergarten and first grade--so that their predilection for literalness does not get in the way of their learning. A number of other characteristics which were considered, such as the ability to formulate hypotheses, the ability to handle contradictions, the ability to make inferences, and the ability to make logical classifications, were all felt to have relevance for curriculum construction. Since each of these was described in some detail, there is no need to elaborate them here.

The important issue to be pursued further in this report is a crucial element of Piagetian theory, namely, the ability of children to deal with classifications, to create classes, to break down classes into subclasses, and to reorganize classes on alternate bases. In effect, the entire process of classification will be the focus of this paper, with the hope that discussion of this matter will point to direct applications for the classroom.

We shall not go into Piagetian theory in great detail. We will be con-

cerned here with the period referred to as "concrete operations," which is the period covering roughly ages four to five through eight to nine, that is, kindergarten through about fourth grade; but these chronological ages should not be taken literally. A detailed discussion summarizing Piaget's description of this period can be found in Flavell, 1963.

The Importance of Classes in Logical Thought

According to Piaget, one of the cornerstones of logical thought is the ability of the thinker to think in class terms, e.g., classes such as animals, vehicles, and natural phenomena. During the elementary period considered here children acquire the competency to add classes together, to multiply classes, to divide classes into smaller units, to expand classes, and to think in terms of classes of items which are bigger than or less than others. We shall have occasion to discuss these in great detail.

When we think of class labels, we tend to think in such common terms as animals or vehicles, or men or women. However, items can be classified on many other criteria, such as size, shape, color, texture, function, locale, material. Every object, event, or person is polydimensional and hence possesses many characteristics which we shall refer to as attributes. Instances (which is a term we will use to refer to items, persons, or events) can be classified on the basis of one or more of their attributes. Therefore, it can be argued that instances are not fixed members of a single class, but can be items in various classes depending upon the particular attribute that is selected as a criterion for class membership.

The awareness that items have many dimensions is a necessary first step in the acquisition of the knowledge that class membership is relative. Classes, then, are formed and reformed on the basis of single attributes. Later children learn to build classes on the basis of two or more attributes. This is what we will refer to as multiple classification. For example, objects can be classified on the basis of size and texture, or size and function, or function and locale, or any other combination of two or more attributes. The ability to use two discrete attributes simultaneously as the basis for classification is a difficult process and one that children customarily are not able to do until the fourth grade. It is this phenomenon that is the focus of this paper.

The "Natural" Pace of Cognitive Growth

Let us begin by disavowing assumptions about the "natural" course of intellectual thought. This matter is mentioned here because subsequently much of what will be discussed will appear to be, or can be interpreted to be, accelerative or pushing. We must remember that what we know about the development of children's thinking comes from observations of their thought activities in our particular culture. What some might consider "natural" is really a product of children living in a particular kind of intellectual, social, and psychological environment. The ages at which particular thought processes emerge must be construed as products of particular cultural experiences, rather than as "natural." The kind of environment that children live in, such as lower or middle class, plays an important role in determining certain trends in the development of thinking. Whether these trends would be present if the environments were modified is an open question. Cross-cultural studies do show that certain intellectual competencies in the course of cognitive growth vary, depending upon the kind of symbolic environment the child experiences. Apparently the rate at which the child moves from one period to another is, in part, a function of the environment. We should not be beguiled into dubious age criteria or assumptions about "naturalness."

The reader should not construe the proposals in this report as arguments either for acceleration or for holding back. These terms are value-laden and based on the assumption that we know for certain what the course of cognitive growth is in relation to specific ages. The argument that six-year-old children think in concrete terms--that they are unable to think in abstract terms or to make hypotheses--is based on our knowledge of six-year-old children who have grown up in our particular kind of environment. We do not know what would happen if environments were modified and training procedures in logical thinking begun in nursery schools. It may well be that, starting this way, the children in later grades would show entirely different patterns of thinking.

The Sequence of Cognitive Growth

Then what are we to assume? Let us first assume that there may be a course of cognitive growth which follows a sequential order, and that this order is determined by the tasks that are to be accomplished, where certain

previous requirements are necessary for subsequent activities to occur. This seems to be true from what we know about task requirements in general. For example, one cannot learn subtraction or multiplication until one has learned the concept of number. One also has to learn to add before one can learn other arithmetic processes. In many fields of study, as well as in logical thought itself, the assumption is that certain prerequisites are necessary for subsequent competencies to appear. Subject matters have their inherent logical order. The ability of the child to handle particular kinds of tasks depends on prerequisite experiences and competencies. Performance at each level is related to past experiences and previous competencies, integrated into current abilities, and sets the stage for subsequent experiences. We should assess the child in terms of where he is in relation to particular kinds of tasks.

Piagetian theory holds that intellect develops in invariant sequential order and that the child must proceed through each step in order to achieve the type of logical thinking usually associated with adults. Adult thinking is logical where the adult is capable of hypothesis formation, has the ability to handle symbolic material, and has the ability to deal with representations. The adult is capable of performing certain kinds of mental operations, such as addition, subtraction, and multiplication. He does not need to act out particular kinds of ideas, or to see them demonstrated; he can use symbolic materials to demonstrate or understand particular operations. Thus, when the adult sees a plus sign or a division sign, the sign tells him what actions to take mentally in a particular problem.

The acquisition of these competencies in the use of symbolic materials comes about through a long and arduous course of development. The child has to learn how to perform certain mental operations, how to disengage himself from the environment and to think abstractly. He has to learn to think in an "as if" way; that is, a hypothetical, deductive way. He also has to learn how to solve problems by induction. The acquisition of these skills, it is argued in Piagetian theory, comes about through a series of stages from infancy through adolescence, in which the child progresses in irreversible order toward mature adult-like thought. (For summaries of this theory see Sigel, 1964; Flavell, 1963; Peel, 1960.)

The theory is complex and involves many more details than can be elucidated in this report. Central to the entire point of view is the argument that the

ability to think in logical terms has as one of its crucial prerequisites the ability to deal in multiple classifications and multiple relations, and to add, subtract, and divide classes. Let us discuss the development of this particular phenomenon and show how it can contribute to social science teaching, particularly by providing a teaching strategy.

Classification Behavior: Class Labeling

Let us begin at the most elemental point and take any object--an apple, a pear, ice cream, whatever we wish. Stop for a moment and think about this object. The apple has many attributes. It has size. It has a particular texture. It has a skin, a stem. It grows on a tree. It has curved surfaces. It has color. It has utility. It has taste. It has many functions ranging from eating to throwing. Each of these attributes is an accurate designation of part of this thing we call "apple." The pear and the ice cream can be discussed in the same way, each possessing similar as well as diverse attributes. Each object possesses a myriad of attributes denoting various aspects of its structure of function. Too often we become unaware of these complexities because we tend to focus on an apple in its primary function as something to eat, or something red. The same thing is true with most objects. We establish a particular relationship with the object, are aware of its primary role; too often we continue to think of it in these limited terms.

Such an attitude toward complex objects is very economical, in that it facilitates our establishing appropriate behaviors and attitudes toward the objects; but it is also a limitation. We develop a schema of "apple" by which actions and meanings are organized. When reading or hearing the word "apple," a set of responses is elicited, which defines a range of associations with the word "apple." The range of responses and associations is stereotyped, since often we learn about objects in limited ways. For example, the most frequent associations of the word "apple" are probably "fruit" and "red." Relatively few people think of the apple in terms of its curved surface, its pulpy textures, or its stem.

We have discussed a concrete, familiar object; now let us take an important social science event--the American Revolution. In connection with this particular event, the first thoughts that come to mind may be associations such as revolution, England, George Washington, thirteen colonies, independence, and

Jefferson. The reader may select other attributes of this event, each one of which may denote a class concept; for example, time, geography, and colonization. There may be differences in the attributes selected by the author and the reader, but commonalities will also appear, because the author and the reader share a common educational and cultural experience.

The cognitive process involved in identifying this social event--the American Revolution--is identical to the one involved in the illustration with the apple. What we have done in each case is to identify a set of criterial attributes which define a part of the totality. This labeling of attributes we call multiple labeling.

An awareness of the range of attributes or aspects of any instance is a crucial prerequisite for the development of more complex classification behaviors. If we are able to specify many labels, we can classify instances in many categories. Thus, for example, we can classify the apple under the class "edible" or the class "having a curved surface" or the class "red." We could categorize the American Revolution under the class "revolution," or "independence," or "anti-British," or "war," and so on.

The number and kind of instances that can be brought under a particular heading depends on the criterial attribute selected. Thus, for the class "fruit," we could include such objects as pears and oranges; but if our criterial attribute were the class "red," we would select additional instances possessing the attribute "red." Similarly, we could construct a class, "wars on the American continent," including the American Revolution, the Civil War and the War of 1812; and we could construct a class, "British-American wars," including the American Revolution and the War of 1812, but excluding the Civil War.

Being aware that objects have many attributes is an important step in achieving awareness of the complexity of the environment. It provides the child with a broader range of information about events, and reduces the amount of stereotyped thinking. To illustrate; if we think of a Negro only as black, or of a Catholic in terms of his religion, or of the Chinese in terms of their politics, we are thinking in terms of only one attribute. But there are many other attributes of each of these social instances. Stereotyped thinking exists when classifications are based on a limited number of attributes. But when the child looks upon every object, every event, and every person as con-

taining many attributes, it suggests to him that no one member is fixed in any particular class, but that it can be in any number of classes, depending on the criterial attribute selected. Thus, if the child is looking around the room for all things that are black, he may include a Negro, a bottle of ink, and a shoe. If we now ask him to think of all things that have feet, he may now put the Negro, the Caucasian, the chair, and the piano under one heading of objects having feet. In this way, the child can learn about the relativity of class membership.

Preferences for Attribute Selection

A number of studies have been made of the bases children use in forming classifications. It has been found that some children show strong preferences for certain criteria of classification. These preferences have been called styles of categorization, a term that means the consistent employment of particular classification criteria with different kinds of material. In classifying humans, for example, the presence of certain size, shape or color of physical features may be the criterial attributes on which classes are built. These are called descriptive criteria.

A second predisposition that has been identified is a tendency to classify items according to their functional interdependence--the relation of one object to another. We have called this the relational-contextual approach. As an example, if a horse and a wagon are included in an array of items, an individual may group these together because the horse pulls the wagon. Other individuals tend to classify on the basis of inferred attributes of items, which we have called categorical-inferential. In this case every instance in an array is an instance of the class; for example, an apple is thought of as a fruit, and a horse as an animal.

We have discovered that as children get older they make less use of relational-contextual criteria of classification, and more use of the descriptive and categorical-inferential criteria. That is, they tend to shift away from relating things on the basis of common functions or interdependence to the more objective type classifications. These changes reflect the child's increased awareness of the complexity of items, as well as the ability to deal with materials on the basis of their objective features. He relies less and less on his own unique subjective experiences as bases for classifying instances.

Apart from the tendency for styles of categorization to change with age, we have found strong personal preferences for particular modes of categorization in both children and adults. The preference for one or another mode is a personal characteristic. We know little about the origins or the modifiability of these classificatory orientations.

Complex Classification Behavior

Up to now we have discussed categorizations based on the ability of children to use a single attribute as the basis for classification. The ability of children to deal in combinations of attributes emerges later, only after the child has mastered certain kinds of intellectual tasks. He must, as we have indicated, be aware that single attributes can be used as the basis of classification--that an object has no fixed position in any one class, but can be a member of many classes.

When the child understands the logic of single classification, he is ready to learn multiple classification. The essential logical processes of multiple classification are addition and multiplication.

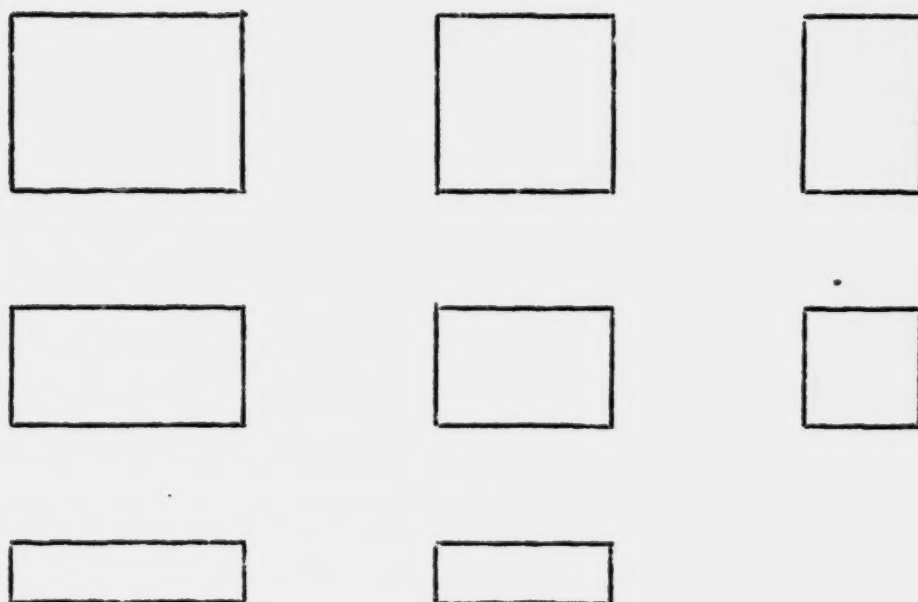
Addition, or combining, of classes can be illustrated by showing children a picture of a group of people all of whom wear glasses, and another picture in which none of the people wear glasses. In each picture there are some persons who are bald, and others with hair. Addition of classes can be illustrated by forming the following classes: (1) people who are either bald or wear glasses; (2) people who either have hair or wear glasses; (3) people who either don't wear glasses or who are bald; (4) people who either don't wear glasses or who have hair; (5) people who either wear glasses or don't wear glasses; and (6) people who either have hair or don't have hair.

Multiplication of classes can be illustrated, using the same pictures. The following classes can be formed by multiplication: (1) all persons who wear glasses and who are bald; (2) all persons who wear glasses and who have hair; (3) all persons who don't wear glasses and who are bald; and (4) all persons who don't wear glasses and who have hair.

The ability to combine two or more attributes is a very significant one in the logical development of thought; it is a prototype of complex thinking, in which classes are combined and recombined as the needs of the problem dictate. In the process of combining and recombining a group of items, a child has to

shift his criteria; flexibility is required in the manipulation of multiple criteria.

The significance of the ability to combine attributes was demonstrated in an experiment conducted with second and third grade children by the writer and two of his students, Frank Hooper and Frederick Stevens. In this study, the children were given a task in which objects of observation had two dimensions. Such a task can be described as a matrix task--in which one dimension of observation is on the horizontal axis and one on the vertical axis, which each subgroup so defined forming an entry in the matrix. In the study, a set of blocks was used which decreased in size in both length and width. The scheme of the experiment, in a simplified form, can be represented as follows:



The child's task is to fill the void in the matrix, which requires that he pick a block that is smaller in each dimension than is the "preceding" block. In order to do this, he must be able to coordinate a decrease in length with a decrease in width. This task is one of logical multiplication--combining two attributes to form a new classification.

We found that children capable of performing this task were also capable of performing another very important function, namely, conserving--that is, holding a characteristic of an item as invariant in the face of transformation. Although there are other indicators of ability to conserve, we found that children who were able to multiply classes were always able to conserve.

For the reader unfamiliar with the classic conservation problem, it can be described briefly. A child is presented with two balls of clay, equal in size and identical in shape. One of these two balls of clay is transformed into a sausage or a pancake or a cup, and the child is asked whether the two pieces of clay are still equivalent. The ability to understand, that there was merely a transformation in shape, but no change in amount, is called conservation. In order for the child to understand this, he has to apply the principle of compensation, that is, to see that as the transformed piece of clay gains in length, it loses in width. This is, in effect, the ability to combine two attributes, namely, length and height, and to realize that there is interrelationship: if one measurement decreases, the other increases. The ability to conserve can easily be seen as relevant to many kinds of logical thought problems in the physical and social sciences. In economics, for example, dollars can be changed into other types of currency, with the purchasing power remaining constant.

Reversibility and Reciprocity

In order to deal with problems of multiple classification and interdependence of attributes, such as those just described, the child must be capable of two mental operations--reversibility and reciprocity.

Reversibility is a mental operation in which materials or ideas are reorganized so as to reconstruct the original state or class. In the example with the clay, reversibility is evident when the child is shown to be aware of the fact that the transformed piece can be rolled back into a ball, so that there are once again two identical balls. In arithmetic, reversibility is manifest in the proof or subtraction. In classifications, reversibility is manifest when classes are reorganized and then brought back to the original state. Comprehension of reversibility reflects the awareness that instances conserve their identity even though placed in another class.

A social science illustration of reversibility is the case of dollars which can be changed into British pounds, and then converted back into dollars. The value of the dollar, or the value of the money in question, has been conserved even though it appears in a different form. Also if the money is changed into other denominations, such as smaller coins or smaller bills, the amount is still the same.

Reciprocity connotes an interaction between things. For example, in economics, reciprocal relationships are evident when one country reduces tariffs and the other country involved sells it more goods. As applied to this specific case, the principle is that tariffs are related to the amount of goods bought and sold. An increase in tariffs causes a decrease in trade, while a decrease in tariffs leads to an increase in trade. There is a reciprocal relationship between trade and tariffs.

Understanding the principle of reciprocity is crucial in scientific and logical thought. As Flavell says:

Reciprocity entails not the outright elimination or negation of a factor but its neutralization, that is, holding its effect constant in some way while a second factor is being varied. For instance, where the problem is to study the separate effects of kind of metal and length on the flexibility of a rod..., the younger child finds himself at an impasse; he cannot literally negate either variable, i.e., work with a rod not made of some metal and not possessing some length. The older child uses the reciprocal operation with great profit here. He takes two rods of different metals but of the same length (here length is not negated, but neutralized or controlled--not lengths per se, but length differences are annulled) in order to study the effect of kind of metal, and two rods of a single metal and different lengths to study the effect of length.

The addition of the reciprocal operation to the subject's repertory in solving scientific problems brings a general advance in strategy and tactics: it disposes the subject towards the controlled experiment, that is, the nullification of one variable, not simply to study that one variable, but to study the action of some other variable free from error variance contributed by the first. The younger child negates a variable in order to study the causal efficacy of that variable. The older child develops a better strategy: negate or neutralize (whichever circumstances dictate; both negation and reciprocity are at his disposal) factor A in order to study the effects of varying factor B; negate or neutralize A and B in order to assess the uncontaminated action of C, and so on. Once again we see that the transition from concrete to formal operations is a transition towards genuinely scientific methods of analysis. (Flavell, 1963, pp. 209, 210.)

Relationship of Complex Classification Behavior to Multiple Causality

An important application of the competencies in multiple classification described above is to the awareness of single and multiple cause-effect relationships. Up to now we have focused on the relationship between instances of a class, the relativity of class membership, and combining and recombining of

classes. The same intellectual process as that described in multiple labeling and multiple classification is relevant to the whole question of multiple causality, a crucial consideration in the social sciences, where events typically occur as the result of combinations of causes rather than of a single cause.

Let us backtrack for the moment and consider single causality (see Piaget, 1930 and Laurendeau and Pinard, 1962). As with multiple labeling, so with causality we can begin by thinking in terms of single causes. However, as analysis of causal problems is made, it is soon apparent that no single cause is sufficient to explain any event. This is particularly true in the social sciences, which deal with complex events and complex causation questions. Therefore, it is important for the teacher to facilitate the child's understanding that events do not just happen but come about for reasons which are both observable (descriptive) and unseen (inferential). Coordination of attributes to build a new class is a process similar to coordinating a number of causative statements, leading to a description of multiple causation.

Common to these two operations--classification and causation--is the ability to perform logical multiplication, that is, to coordinate two discrete elements, fusing them into a single concept. It is a combinatory action, producing a new criterion by which items can be classified or explained. It is assumed here that the ability to multiply generalizes both to different kinds of classification and to causation.

Examples of Multiple Classifications and Multiple Relations

Let us now see how a specific teaching strategy can be designed for the classroom, based on knowledge of simple and multiple classification, and simple and multiple causality. Let us take a unit of study which is common in our public schools, namely, the pioneers. The purpose of this unit of study is to show something about the white man and the Indian in early colonial days. Consider first the tepee. What attributes of the tepee can be identified? We can talk about its function as a domicile, its portability, the materials from which it is made, and its shape. We can show the child how each of these attributes applies to this particular tepee. Consider next the log cabin of the pioneer. What attributes does the log cabin possess? We can use the same kind of criteria, i.e., the function, portability, the materials, and shape.

Let us now take the tepee and the log cabin and discuss some of their similarities. They have a similar function as a domicile. There is some similarity in materials, in that both use some wood. But there are also many differences. One is stationary and the other is portable. One is made entirely of wood, the other is made mostly of skins. One is conical in shape and the other is rectangular. Given these similarities and differences, the teacher can ask the children to examine these objects and explain or think about the significance of each of the attributes that are listed. Let us take, for example, the issue of shape. Why is a tepee conical? What function does this shape serve? It is related to fire; a simple way to make smoke escape is to leave a hole in the top of a conical structure. Why is a log cabin rectangular? This is a simple way to build with logs.

In this discussion we have begun to show how two rather discrete items share certain common properties, and also have differences. We focused on similarities and differences. But, thus far, we have concentrated on single attributes. We can now include in the discussion other types of domiciles, such as lean-tos and clap-board houses, which were also present in the pioneer community. We can also include forts, which have some features in common with houses. We can include many kinds of buildings, all of which have the common attribute of domicile, but which also have other qualities which permit sub-classifications. Then we can place in one group wooden, permanent domiciles, which could be forts, log cabins, and clap-board houses; and, in another group, portable domiciles, including wigwams, tepees, and lean-tos, etc.

The strategy suggested here is important; it requires the child to discover the attributes relevant for discussion, rather than the teacher supplying them. The multiple labeling and multiple classification are accomplished by the teaching providing the materials and asking the child to discover the relationships. From our research efforts it has become clear that letting the child provide the labels and discover the similarities and differences enables him to assimilate this information more readily, and to achieve an awareness of the complexity of items before him. This conclusion is consistent with the Piagetian theory, which holds that assimilation of information leads to alterations in the point of view. Thus, as these new bits of information become categorized in appropriate cognitive schemas, the schemas increase in content. The act of the child searching and labeling, uttering and hearing

himself say "wood," "big," "small," and so forth, provides the context within which he acquires significant bits of information with which to identify environmental phenomena.

Our evidence is sufficiently strong to warrant the generalization that using a discovery-type approach, guided by the teacher, is better than other methods.

When Is a Criterial Attribute a Good One?

Teachers have biases as to what constitutes a "good" criterial attribute. Although various attributes or combination of attributes may be considered equally accurate and relevant, some are valued over others.

An illustration of the valuation system and its subsequent effect on classification behavior follows. Two types of tasks were given to a group of experienced social study teachers to demonstrate the relative significance of certain types of information. The respondents were presented with three items, a peach, an apple, and a banana, and were asked to pick any two of these three items and give a list of how they were alike. Most of the teachers picked the apple and the peach. Taking all the statements made by the entire group, seventeen different attributes were listed. The maximum given by one individual was eight, but every member of the group recognized the presence of each of the seventeen and agreed that the objects did contain these attributes. Why did not everyone list all seventeen attributes? This was discussed with the group. The reasons given reflected the conviction that certain kinds of responses were banal, unsophisticated, or unimportant. For example, the attribute of having a curved surface, common to both objects, was seen as an insignificant response. In general, the use of descriptive statements was seen as a reflection of low intelligence. This observation led to a discussion of what criteria a teacher used to decide if a response was good or not good. There was consensus that abstract ideas are better than non-abstract ideas.

At the next meeting with the teachers, a physical science experiment was described in which a strip of metal was placed over a candle and each end of the metal rose. The teachers were asked why this phenomenon occurred, and were permitted to request additional information. They asked such questions as, "How far was the candle from the metal?" "What was the metal made out of?" "For how long was the metal heated?" "Was the heat conducted equally in the

metal?" "How long was the candle burning?" "What kind of candle was used?" In other words, a number of descriptive, factual questions were asked. No longer did the teachers consider such questions banal; they realized that these questions could, when properly employed, provide significant bits of information, the totality of which could lead to a desired answer to a question. The upshot of the discussion was that the teachers learned that the "goodness" of various criteria for classification depends on what questions one seeks to answer. Thus, for the botanist, the color of the flower may be a crucial criterion for determining its species. For the geologist, the shape and size of a rock may be the most important criteria for classification. For the social scientist, similar surface criteria such as the dates of battles, may or may not be important. The goodness of different types of criteria cannot be determined in general, but only with respect to the particular problem being studied.

Recapitulation

In summary, to this point, we have come to the following conclusions: (1) Instances (objects, events, and persons) are multi-dimensional, possessing many discrete attributes. (2) Attributes, singly or collectively, can be used as bases for forming classifications. (3) Classification on single attributes is easier than classification on multiple attributes, therefore the younger children are able to do it. (4) Through appropriate teaching strategies and demonstrations, children can learn that these single attributes can be combined to form new subclasses; to do this, they must be able to coordinate two or more attributes. (5) Reversibility and reciprocity are important intellectual operations needed to accomplish (4). (6) Given the competencies (4) and (5), children are able to conserve. (7) Integrating, or coordinating, attributes can be accomplished through the use of discovery procedures. (8) Labels of any kind may have a utility, which depends on the problem to be solved. (9) Labels selected by children reflect their preferences; but the reasons for such preferences, and the degree to which the preferences can be modified, are yet to be discovered.

Uses of Multiple Classification in the Curriculum

Methods in social studies can be selected which enable the child to

accomplish two things simultaneously--to develop a strategy of search and discovery, and to acquire information. The kind of illustration given previously, about the houses, can be translated into other content areas. Let us take an example in American history. We present the children with the names of George Washington, George III, and Lafayette, and ask them in what ways any two of these three figures are similar, in what ways they are different. Suppose that most of the group picks George Washington and George III. At the most mundane level, they state that each have the same first name, they are both men, and they are both leaders, they dress similarly, and they are both influential figures in their country. Such information tells the child that two figures, despite differences of physical location and country of origin, have certain features in common.

We could deal next with the origins or the bases of the similarities between George Washington and George III. They have the same first name because they share a common culture in which this name is used. They are both men, which suggests that men in that era were predominant political power figures. That they dressed the same suggests they came from a similar social class. This illustration shows that, from a simple comparison, many questions can be evolved, all helping the child extend his understanding of these figures. In his reading and thinking, he will now consider commonalities as well as the differences which are often the exclusive emphasis in historical comparisons. We can extend the exercise, comparing Washington and Lafayette, Lafayette and George III; we can make a three-way comparison of commonalities and differences; and we can ask which two of the three figures are most alike. The nature of the relationship of each figure to the others will vary, depending upon the attributes chosen for comparison.

Through experiences of this kind, the child can learn about the relativity of relationships, how classes can be combined and recombined, how items in a class can be selected for a number of rational reasons, and, above all, how every instance is a complex of many attributes.

The attributes selected by the teacher, and the ways in which they are used, depend on the goals of the curriculum. If we are interested in studying leadership in the American Revolution, for example, then certain differences in attributes may be more important than similarities in these or other attributes. If we are studying the impact of certain cultural phenomenon on

two people, certain similarities may become very important. In selecting significant attributes and analyzing commonalities and differences, and thereby evolving classification schemes, the child acquires not only the information about the figures, but also acquires practice in performing logical operations.

Such an approach is not limited to persons, but can also be applied to events. Take, for example, three very disparate events--the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the American Revolution, and the Boxer Rebellion. Here are three events that occurred at different points in time and at different places on earth. What are the commonalities, what are the differences, what can we learn from such an examination? The complexity of each of these instances is enormous, and, of course, there are only limited kinds of information that it would be important to select. We can readily ascertain some significant differences and similarities which could provide the child with a perspective that would further the goals of social science education. For example, in each of these three instances, the threat of major powers to inferior powers was overcome--the British defeating the Spaniards in 1588, the Americans finally defeating the British in 1781, and the Chinese throwing out the Western powers in the early 20th century. The commonalities among the British, the Americans, and the Chinese in each case were their presumed military and economic weakness, their relatively unsophisticated political and economic systems, and their strong desire for autonomy and independence.

The process of discovery of commonalities through labeling and identifying is crucial. The gains are lost if the teacher sets himself up as the source of such information.

Changing the Styles of Categorization

We have hypothesized that a more flexible use of styles of categorization will occur when children are encouraged to seek alternative classifications and when the list of alternative attributes is large. In encouraging expansion of the list of commonalities and differences, the teacher should not limit nor evaluate the responses, but accept them all as equally valid at first. Later on, the teacher can help the children determine which of the particular labels, or classification criteria, answer some questions or solve some problems better than others. In other words, the criteria for

evaluating the quality of the response should be worked out in reference to particular goals.

The teacher should be sensitive to the children's styles of categorization, and encourage use of those styles being used least. Whether a child is responding primarily in a descriptive, contextual or inferential mode, he should be encouraged to work with the other modes. Our judgment about the value of such a strategy is based on research just completed in physical science with fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-graders, in which it was found that the children who solved problems most effectively were those who could ask about or perceive relationships on both the descriptive and categorical levels. The results suggested that the ability to shift from one criterion to another is important in solving classification problems. (Scott & Sigel, 1965)

When and how can such procedures to increase flexibility in styles of categorization be instituted? Here our conclusions are extrapolated from our research. We found that with certain classes of material, such as those which can be presented visibly to the child in three-dimensional form, competencies in multiple classification are evident as early as kindergarten and first grade. This would suggest that procedures to broaden styles of categorization could be instituted in the primary grades. Content would have to be selected which could visibly present to the child the possible alternative classification responses; later, use could be made of more symbolic representational material, such as pictures; and eventually, of words.

In practice, children in these early years have little experience with procedures of the kind described, which encourage broader and more flexible modes of categorization. The schools do not encourage them, but stress "correct" and "incorrect" methods of categorization. Our intelligence tests also discourage flexibility in categorization. Our evidence seems to indicate that if we could expose children at an early age to experiences that broaden categorization, it would facilitate thinking in more original ways.

Some social studies teachers teach children from a wide range of socio-economic groups. On the basis of our research, we would place greater emphasis on the use of three-dimensional objects as a way of introducing the tasks of categorization to very young children of average background, and to somewhat older children, perhaps ages six and seven, who come from economically deprived backgrounds (Sigel, Anderson & Shapiro, 1966). Deprived children

have some difficulty in dealing with symbolic material.

Conclusion

The content and strategy suggested here represent an approach which should be an integral to every curriculum. It is our hope that this report provides some convincing suggestions about the relevance of child development research to the development of social science curricula. The job that remains for the curriculum developer and the teacher is considerable--that of integrating these suggestions, and hopefully others that come from similar investigations, into a coherent curriculum and teaching strategy.

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PART IV

CONTENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

CONTENT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION

In view of the broad representation of social scientists in the Consortium, it was our hope that we would be in a particularly favorable position to make some useful contributions to the selection and structuring of content for social science curricula. To this end, three major activities were undertaken; a curriculum development activity at the University of Michigan; another at Purdue University; and a conference of workers from a number of projects throughout the country, to discuss the various approaches taken in the projects to the content and structure of the social sciences.

At the University of Michigan, a group under the direction of Professor Ronald Lippitt conducted a series of sixteen two-and-a-half-hour sessions with a series of consultants, thirty-four in all. They were from many areas related to, or within, psychology and sociology--including social psychology, personality development, cognition, teaching and learning, small groups, organization, the family, and developmental psychology--as well as from education, political science and economics. Each group discussed the phenomena, concepts, theories, issues and methodologies from the social sciences which they thought were most important for inclusion in a high school social science curriculum. Reports of the consultation sessions are included in this report, as well as some preliminary suggestions for use of these materials. Members of the core group who conducted the sessions and wrote the report were, in addition to Professor Lippitt, Mark Chesler, Assistant Project Director, Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, University of Michigan; Robert Fox, Director, University Elementary School and Research Associate, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan; Charles Jung, Assistant Project Director, Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge; Milan Marich, Instructor, School of Education and Teacher University School, University of Michigan; and William Nimroth, Administrative Officer, Ann Arbor (Michigan) Public Schools. This group is continuing with further analysis and structuring of the materials, for use in developing secondary curricula.

Professor Senesh directed a group, centered at Purdue University, that worked on the structure of several of the social sciences, with a view to developing a framework for an elementary social science curriculum. Working with him were Robert Perrucci, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University;

David Easton, Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago; Peter Greco, Professor of Geography at Syracuse University; and Paul Bohannon, Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. Each member of this group developed the general content and framework of his own discipline, and all have worked with Professor Senesh toward bringing these into an "orchestrated" structure. (See, particularly, Professor Senesh's presentation at the conference reported below.)

The work of the two groups led by Professors Lippitt and Senesh present an interesting contrast in approaches to the content of the social sciences for use in school curricula. In the Michigan group, the emphasis was on concepts, phenomena, theories, and so forth, that are common to the various social sciences, and an analysis of these common threads will play an important role in the continuing work planned by this group. In Professor Senesh's group, on the other hand, the emphasis is quite different, directed toward preserving the identity of each of the disciplines, while bringing them into touch with each other as required to meet the needs of a problem-centered curriculum. There was some preliminary confrontation between the two approaches, and the Consortium hopes to do further work in comparing the uses and the merits of the two. While the Lippitt group was thinking primarily of developing content for the secondary level, and the Senesh group for the elementary level, we feel that the general problem of selection and structuring of content can be approached initially without regard for grade level.

The third major activity related to content was a two-day conference at Purdue University in January 1966 on the subject, "Concepts and Structure of the New Social Science Curricula." The principle purpose of the conference was to get social science curriculum project people together to exchange views on a particular aspect of project work, namely, how they go about selecting and conceptualizing the content for their curriculum materials. A majority of the academically-based social science education projects in the country were represented at the conference. In addition, there were classroom teachers, curriculum directors, principals, university educators and social scientists. The work on this conference was begun under the present contract and completed under Contract OE-6-10-327. The full report on the conference is given in the report on the latter contract.

Section 13

RETRIEVING SOCIAL SCIENCE KNOWLEDGE
FOR SECONDARY CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

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PREFACE

The Problem

Societal changes are occurring in the world today at an unprecedented rate. At the same time, the comparatively new disciplines of social science such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, and economics are developing rapidly. Social science knowledge is accumulating faster than it is being made available to social practitioners or to the general citizenry who have need of it for application to the critical social issues of our times. Applied research is already indicating some of the benefits to be derived from such applications. However, it appears that general lack of awareness of what is available from the social sciences is contributing to a growing lag between what is known and efforts to make applications.

One major implication of this situation is that the general citizenry needs to be given a more adequate opportunity to become aware of what the social sciences are and of their potential applications. There is, at this time, very little opportunity in the curriculum of our elementary and secondary schools for children to become aware of the knowledge available from the behavioral sciences or to explore its application to personal and community problems. Such opportunities are encountered by some, not all, at the college level. Less advantaged youth, who do not reach the college level, have no chance to become informed in this area which is of the greatest relevance for them. The project reported here has sought to develop substantive content for social science curricula at the secondary school level.

The Approach

Several alternative approaches are possible in selecting content for secondary social science curricula. One approach is disciplinary; a second seeks common phenomena, concepts, and methodologies which cut across the social science disciplines; still another categorizes the knowledge currently available in curricular materials and in scientific reports and selects from them content for instruction. A fourth approach is to secure from leading social scientists nominations of the knowledge which they see as most relevant for inclusion in the curriculum. Our group has chosen a combination of the second and fourth methods: securing from social scientists recommendations regarding

the most relevant knowledge from their disciplines for the education of young people, and screening those recommendations for concepts, phenomena and methodologies which cut across the majority of the social science disciplines.

The Procedure

We chose to undertake the task of retrieving knowledge to use in developing secondary social science curricula by means of a cross-representational team. This team initially included Ronald Lippitt, a sociologist-psychologist, Mark Chesler, a social psychologist, Charles Jung, an educational psychologist, Milan Marich, a school of education professor of social studies methods, and William Nimroth, a school system social studies curriculum director.

This team conducted a series of sixteen two-and-a-half-hour interviews with small groups of social scientists during the school year 1964-65, to obtain their answers to the question, "What phenomena, concepts, theories, issues and methodologies from your area should be included in a high school social science curriculum?" The social scientists were also asked what they believed were the most important frontiers of knowledge in their areas of specialization. Some of these interview sessions were with groups of social scientists focusing on basic disciplinary areas; others were with groups concerned with the more applied areas of social science. In a seventeenth session, the team members discussed strategies for use of the data. The subjects of the sessions, and the participants in each session, have been listed in the Table of Contents.

A tape recording was made of each session. One member of the team also kept general notes on large newsprint sheets which all could follow, and correct, as each session progressed. The recorder later used these notes as he listened to the tape and wrote up a comprehensive report of the information supplied at the session. Two copies of the report were sent to each person who had attended. Each then returned one copy with corrections or additions, which were incorporated in a final report.

During the summer of 1965, the information in these seventeen reports was broken down into the smallest possible meaningful statements, such as, "procedures and norms affect group decision making" and "the greatest generators of conflicts in organizations are social power, authority and status." These statements were categorized under the major headings of objectives, content, values, and teaching methodologies. They were further categorized under

sub-headings which seemed to emerge out of the data, such as "freedom and conformity", "power", "dissonance", and "decision making".

Major attention during the fall of 1966 was directed to the data under the "content" heading. This resulted in identification of ten potential curriculum units which could be developed, incorporating the knowledge suggested in these sessions. Robert Fox, a professor of education and past president of the Michigan Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, joined the team during this period.

Organization and Integration of the Data

Analysis of the material concerning "objectives" and "teaching methodologies" yielded the following notes regarding objectives and ideas for implementing them.

Goals and Objectives:

- A. General considerations
 - 1. Depend on grade level and sub-content area
 - 2. Include certain attitudes, skills and understandings
- B. Major goals
 - 1. Scientific methods in problem solving
 - 2. Cause and effect interaction
 - 3. Holism as a principle in understanding the world
 - 4. Values, social membership, and participation commitments
 - 5. Personal growth in self-control and direction

Ideas of Implementation of Objectives:

- A. Analytic skill in doing social science
- B. Experience in being a social scientist
- C. Focus on phenomena
- D. Apply social science to self and immediate environment
- E. Basic experiential dilemmas
- F. Learning to inquire
 - 1. Confrontation episode
 - 2. What's going on?
 - 3. Why does it happen?
 - 4. What happens next?
 - 5. Where do I fit?
 - 6. Do I make a difference?
 - 7. How do I express myself on this?

Criteria for organizing the "content" data into units were decided upon as follows. The data must:

1. Fit a topic which focuses on dynamic processes.
2. Utilize phenomena.
3. Promote inquiry.
4. Cut across many systems and disciplines.
5. Have salience for the learner.
6. Have salience for society.
7. Be significant from the standpoint of the scientist.

Analysis of the "content" data pointed to two kinds of units. Five tentative units of the first kind are seen as having concept foci which are basic to all of a second set of five units which do not necessarily depend on each other. The unit headings and some concepts which might be included are listed below:

Concept Units Basic to All the Suggested Units

1. Change - including concepts such as the Lewinian "force field" model of dynamic equilibria of forces; learning; normative, planned and developmental change.
2. Value - including concepts such as choice and the influencing feelings such as trust-distrust.
3. Multiple Causation - including concepts such as those found in a model of behavior called the "circular process of interpersonal relation".
4. Life Space - including concepts such as time; space; Lewinian "life space" with its internal and external components of the perceived environment; psychological impact of physical and physiological variables.
5. Rationality-Emotionality - including concepts of affect and cognition and their interaction in behavior.

Other Content Units

1. Deviation and Conformity - including concepts such as pluralism and normativeness.
2. Identity and Membership - including concepts such as individual identity; status roles; institutional identity; multiple loyalty; interrelations; the individual in the group; the individual and the group.

3. Conflict and Conflict Resolution - including concepts such as goal; approach-avoidance; win-lose; compromise.
4. Decision Making and Action Taking - including concepts such as problem solving; resource identification; development and utilization; communication and feedback.
5. Power and Influence - including concepts such as dependence; independence; counter-dependence; and inter-dependence.

A next step in use of the data is the organization under each of these unit headings of clusters of concepts and clusters of phenomena, objects and setting referred to.

Potential Applications

There are several alternatives which may be considered for applying the data as they have been organized to the task of creating secondary school social science curricula. The units could be developed as new courses, or they could be developed as units to be used when seen as appropriate in already existing courses. The units could be organized around interaction phenomena, or as they apply in settings such as the family, the school, the community, or internationally. The units could be developed with disciplines, on a cross-disciplinary comparative basis, or on an interdisciplinary basis. Such possibilities need to be considered along with careful exploration of possible teacher-learning approaches in taking a next step toward development of a curriculum.

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SESSION 1

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

This is the first meeting of the core and resource team investigating Secondary Social Science Education. The consultants this meeting are Professors Theodore Newcomb and Dorwin Cartright. The general problem we have presented for discussion is: "What methodologies, topics, generalizations, concepts, or phenomena would you include in a limited number of units on social psychology in a high school social science curriculum?" It was suggested that another way of asking this question was: "What would you, as a college professor, want your people to know if they were coming from a high school course in social science?" What are the greatest preparation deficiencies for college people in the social science? There was objection to this form of question since some high school students might be terminal and not college preparatory. Cartright suggested that this course be seen neither as preparatory nor substituted for college studies, but an independent attempt to expose students to the range of disciplines and the phenomena studied by the social psychologist. A sole emphasis on preparing students for college courses is most dangerous in that we also want to communicate information, modes, and orientations about the social sciences to students who may have no intention or no possibility of going on to college. There was some division within the group at this point. Some felt strongly that the high school course ought to be seen as orientative and preparatory to college courses and majors, while others felt strongly that it ought to be a unit in itself. The latter group felt that the study of science and social science may play an important part in the daily lives of people who are not going to college.

The consultants felt an important starting place for this topic was a discussion of the objectives of such a course. Newcomb stated two important objectives: (1) that students understand quantification as it applies to human affairs and (2) that students study issues close to their lives which are seldom dealt with objectively. Mr. Lippitt raised a question about possible conflicts between this objective, analytic role and the young person's participative role and involvement in his own affairs. We discussed whether being an analytic observer was possible for a participant and decided there was no inherent conflict.

Cartright broadly described these objectives as matters of a scientific

orientation to the social world and the development of scientific methodology and thinking. Newcomb added the objective that young people understand cause and effect relations and see phenomena as being caused by other phenomena. We proceeded to notions of multiple and plural causation, and the interaction affects among a variety of single causes. This was felt to be a crucial area of learning. In this context, Newcomb stressed some digression should happen in the classroom and that there should be no attempt to stick rigorously to one definition of independence or dependence. What is an independent variable in one case may be a dependent variable in another case. Attitudes, for instance, may be both determinants and consequences of prejudice. Newcomb also felt that this would motivate high school students because it was fun and exciting to delve into the conditions and causes of phenomena.

As an example of multiple causation and interaction affects, Newcomb suggested the investigation of how heredity and environment interact to produce skills, abilities and personalities. He noted that some scientific methodology and causative analysis is taught in biology and chemistry, but that for the most part these skills and modes are not seen as transferable to social and human phenomena. Therefore, a major objective of secondary social science courses would be to show how some methodologies of biology and chemistry can be generalized and used to look at social phenomena.

Another issue discussed in this connection was the level of teacher preparation and teacher ability needed to: (1) teach social science and causation and (2) teach it so that it is seen as generalizable to a number of phenomena and a number of disciplines. Important data to collect in this regard might be the character of teaching history and social studies courses in the high schools now. Is it the case, as we suspect, that many phenomena are presently taught as having single causes, or as being the results of non-social events. Some need to be retaught as the outcomes of a variety of social events. Is history taught from the point of view of the great man, or singly caused position, or is it taught as multi-caused? The current mode of teaching about causation is crucial to know because it provides us with the jumping off point for students and for teacher learning about multiple causation in the social sciences.

With these objectives in mind, we prepared to discuss the question of where to start in a high school social science course. Newcomb felt that an important place to start was not with the discipline as presently organized,

but with phenomena in which students are currently investigating or with topics that are close to their daily lives. He expressed the idea that he could draw out of these kinds of experiences and learnings the more abstract conceptions of cognition, perception, motivation, etc.. As an example of a topic with which to start he suggested the phenomena of prejudice. He did not suggest prejudice as a social organizational problem, but prejudice as a set of feelings and attitudes that students live with and want to understand. In prejudice there might be good materials for teaching about perceptions, social learnings, and perhaps the learnings of hate.

Cartright raised a question about the feasibility of starting with prejudice. This particular topic or set of phenomena might be too threatening to students for them to treat either with openness or objectivity. Newcomb responded that the notion of threat was more related to teaching techniques than to the problem, although it was quite possible that it might be useful to start with problems or topics that were less intimate and threatening. Some other examples of topics that might be tried to be used at this level are social prestige, social popularity, isolation. Other examples are how do people grow up, or what makes people so different or so similar to one another? Some of the topics or the issues that might be looked at in either of these areas are heredity, environment, age, sex, race, religion, social class, and personality. In general both consultants were talking about teaching principles of psychology and social psychology in context of, and out of experience with, certain kinds of phenomena.

Lippitt raised the question of whether we were talking about issues in terms of our own professional training and level of abstraction, or the way they presented themselves to young people. Cartright again focused on the problem of threat and raised the question of whether there might be ways of teaching problems of social prestige that talked in general of cliques, clubs, feelings about others. He felt there was too much threat involved at the level of investigating my personal popularity and my own personal feelings about isolation.

We next attempted to deal with the priorities for attention in secondary social science. Cartright felt an important problem for study was the preconceptions high school students made about the nature of society. These preconceptions often block them from doing certain kinds of learning and studying. Newcomb suggested a focus on attempting to investigate and explain

things that the student took for granted; things that the student felt were inexplicable or given by nature. Attention to these kinds of phenomena would provide the most important kinds of learning and growth for social science. Newcomb felt that it is explaining the inexplicable that social science is most valuable. Some examples of the ineffable topics may be instincts, or liking and loving, or the "way people are".

Cartright wanted to be more specific in establishing his priorities for approaching some of these same phenomena. Taking for example, the topic of prejudice, he felt the first step would be to define prejudice; the second step might be to look at some of the preconditions or causes of it. Examples of such causes might be learning, parental and social influence and group membership. A third step would focus on the consequences of prejudice, or the effects of prejudice upon both the givers and the receivers. In dealing with this topic, Cartright felt that teaching the social scientific methodology should be given high priority. In teaching this "way of thinking", the place to start would be with problems of measurement. Tactics of question asking, interview construction, and sampling are important in deciding how you measure the phenomena of prejudice. The second step would be for students to do their own research, to go out and make systematic, controlled observations in the world about the phenomena. The third step involves various experimental methods and manipulations of variables or sub groups. Cartright stressed the need for students to go out into the world and collect data on others. If students collect the data on themselves and talk about their own feelings, they are more likely to raise problems of defensiveness. Further than this, Cartright felt it was difficult to talk about specific content of methodology because of a lack of knowledge about the students' grade, class, background, etc.. In fact, it may be necessary to build several variety of curricula so that teachers may plug in the appropriate one to her own classroom situation and her own resources.

We decided next to focus on some of the substantive areas of social scientific learning. We reflected that prejudice had been constantly referred to as an example of a good topic for several reasons. First of all, it is salient and therefore a good strategy for getting into the minds and involving young people. Secondly, it has great fruitfulness for generalizing about other concepts because it touches on many basic problems and thereby can be extended into many other areas of importance. Thirdly, there is a considerable body of social psychological literature and knowledge here which can contribute

to young people's understanding of phenomena. Finally its very study may in some measure make people more aware of their own concerns and feelings and more cosmopolitan about the world they live in. Cartright suggested that we might take prejudice and teach within this context some of the major theories about prejudice and interpersonal behavior. For instance, we might spend time on theories including psychoanalytic, social learning, limitation, identification, identity notions, and issues of self-esteem.

Newcomb stated that he might teach balance theory as a general framework for looking at a limited set of problems. Some of the problems that might come up under balance theory are self and self other comparisons, groups that the self belongs to, functions of groups as reference elements, and problems of preception and judgement of other people. As another example, we took the problem of people and groups different from ourselves. Newcomb felt that first there were some person constants such as heredity, attitudes, personality, and values that make people different. Secondly, there are some membership group references and norms, both actual and perceived, that make people different. Thirdly, there are some roles and role determinants in terms of sex, age grading, and status that make people different. Any of these person, membership, or role dimensions could be taken either as independent or as dependent variables, either as conditions and causes, or as consequences. We all agreed that another major unit might be change. In this unit we would talk about biological development and maturation, cognitive development, learning, even to group and social change in attitudes, practices, and structure. Change itself is a phenomena that in many ways is inevitable and in many ways has considerable relevance to high school social science. This is a particular kind of topic that we have left out of our list so far.

We had an extensive discussion about the nature of certain kinds of models and their utility in the classroom. Chesler said that some social scientific models such as force field and life space seem to have great utility as graphic strategies of organizing materials and presenting it to students. At the same time, Cartright expressed major reservations regarding the mislearning of certain kinds of models. He felt, for instance, that the force field was not really presentable to high school students or even to undergraduates; in fact, it really cannot be understood except at the graduate level where students have had enough experience in making abstractions and theoretical developments to be able to follow it through. Cartright felt it would be

dysfunctional and probably misinformation to teach these kinds of abstractions and technical models to high school students. The probable outcome is that students understand a little bit about it, just enough to talk about terms and to misapply them to phenomena and people. Cartright felt that there were many other concepts, such as group cohesiveness, which were diffuse enough technically and intuitive enough so they could be taught and understood profitably by high school students. Jung summarized the problem as one of the feasibility of communicating the meaning of terms effectively to young people, and the ability of students to understand and make use of them. Newcomb added his observation that the guild of psychologists and social psychologists often make terms more technical than they need be. Thereby they preserve the technicality and complexity of these terms and suggest that others cannot really understand them. Neither consultant felt that such was the case in this instance, but that this caution might apply in the future.

We concluded the meeting with some general process comments. We felt there needed to be ways of shortening Lippitt's introduction in order to get started more quickly. One-and-a-half hours is really not enough, and we ought to be public about our attempt to finish at 2:30 instead of 2:00. Do we start at 12:00 or 12:30? We also raised some questions about the problem statement in asking our consultants to focus in on the high school course. Did that force them to pay too much attention to course mechanics and course problems rather than upon the summarizing and crucial elements of their discipline? In fact, it took quite a while to get to the core of the social psychological discipline with these two respondents. That may be partly due to the opening statement but also very importantly due to our own general orientation today and the broad competencies of these consultants. We did get some very valuable aid on the nature and objectives of a course. We agreed, however, to deliberately stay away from the objectives of the course as much as possible with other consultants. Our probes should get them to focus in on the content and substance of their areas. Perhaps we can come back at some extra meeting to a further discussion of objectives of the course. Marich raised the question of his own participation, at least in terms of whether it was wise to talk about what things were being done in the classroom, or things he was doing in the classroom. We pretty much agreed that for these sessions it would be most appropriate for us to probe our consultants rather than to be forceful about our own ideas except as clarifying probes. We have set aside time for the five of us to meet

as the core team and at that time we can look at problems and strategies of teaching.

As final comments, Newcomb summarized some of our process notions by saying that it was a big job and tough to really focus us in on it in such a short time. Cartright almost felt that he wanted a second crack at this, since he barely got to listing what he felt were important topics, and spent a lot of time on the objectives of the course. Chesler felt it was vital that notes be taken on the board during the meeting. This would give continuity and focus for the meeting as well as making it easier to transcribe the tape. However, there is also a need to mark the tape occasionally so that particularly good portions or skippable sections can be noted.

A few references were suggested. They are:

1. McGrath
2. Newcomb
(particularly Chapter by Converse on Attitudes)
3. Hyman and Shealsley
4. Allport and Krawer

SESSION 2

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

For this session the social science consultants were Professors Gordon, Douvan, and Veroff.

It was suggested that one approach to studying personality could be that of looking at it from a scientific standpoint. The issue of methodology would be of initial importance here. This could be seen as a means of defining what is meant by personality. It could also be seen as a means of studying the phenomena which is called personality. It was suggested that demonstration experiences could be used. An example was given in which a class of children would be asked what people do when a new rule is given. If the response could be plotted, it would probably be seen as a J-curve. This is one way of demonstrating what people do under various stimulus conditions. This would introduce to the children an awareness that there are possible methodologies for studying people's behavior.

If one took the approach of individual differences to explain and study personality, then a number of different testing procedures could be explored. It was suggested that a question of basic importance in this approach would be that of whether one can, in fact, study empirically such individual differences as values. The importance here would be in developing an awareness that things which may seem intangible, such as values, can be studied scientifically.

Another initial approach that was suggested was that of the whole question of identity. This could be studied from the standpoint of such things as sex differences and interest, occupational career choices, and also social class differences, and the contributions of intelligence to occupational choice, to occupational success, and to performance. This could be looked at, in addition, from the standpoint of developmental differences.

It was felt that questions of methodology could be looked at taking this developmental identity and role focus. The meaningfulness of measurement could be explored around these dimensions of identity. The reliability of measurement and the question of what a meaningful correlation is were seen as important focuses of study. It was suggested that an experience which could bring out some of these phenomena in the classroom would be that of having

several people describe the same person. The differences in these descriptions would be the demonstration.

It was noted that in science there is often an approach taken which begins by focusing on some exotic, unusual, or unexpected phenomena. It was felt that such an initial approach can be misleading. It was felt that it would be important to avoid such a misleading approach.

It was suggested that the developmental task orientation should be excitingly involving for children without possibly being misleading. The approaches of Havighurst and Erikson were suggested as examples of the kind of approaches that could be taken to identity. Such an approach was seen as somewhat different from the approach of the applied scientists who are seeking principles of behavior. The task orientation approach was considered to be one which looked at observable influences and observable outcomes. The other approach was seen as involving questions of what are the internal intervening variables between the observable influences and outcomes. It was felt that looking at the internal intervening variables might not be a good focus. It was suggested that this may be too difficult for youth to handle and may be misleading.

It was emphasized that it would be important to teach both the methodology of studying these phenomena as well as what some of the phenomena were and what had been learned about them.

It was suggested that the presentation of the material under discussion should not focus on individuals and should not promote the individual studying of phenomena by studying themselves. It was felt that study of the influences on behavior and the roles and tasks that one might be dealing with now, and might be moving toward dealing with in the near future, could be helpful in making explicit the kinds of variables that would go into individuals making choices. It was noted that in some past experiences in working with young children, they did apply the things they were learning to themselves and this did seem to have some positive influence on their behavior and on the choices they made. It was suggested that promoting deliberation in making choices was appropriate. The point was that deliberation should be encouraged so long as one was not forced to make self application.

The next part of the discussion was focused on purposes of introducing study of personality into the high school curriculum. It was suggested that it could be appropriately introduced as part of the humanities. In this sense it

would be considered a field of knowledge about the world which has reached a certain level of development. If you are going to exist in the world, you need to know what the world contains and this is one aspect of it. In this case one focused on the field of personality as a field. One might look at its history, at the content with which it deals, and at some of its substantive products. This orientation was phrased as "a course for people watchers as compared to a course for star watchers".

A second kind of purpose that was suggested was that of studying personality as a preparation so that one could make use of this knowledge in some way. It was suggested that in order to be able to make use of the field, one needs some knowledge of the content of the field, with its major principles and something about the extent to which knowledge from the field might actually be utilizable and applicable to problems of living. Utility in this field might arise from the knowledge of it or skills related to the knowledge of it on the one hand, or in relation to the methodology that has been developed in the field on the other hand. From the standpoint of methodology, the utilization might be seen in terms of how do you go about finding answers to questions, how do you ask questions, or go about solving problems which relate to human behavior.

There was quite a bit of discussion concerning whether an approach to studying personality should be based on one or the other of these two purposes. One suggestion was that studying the methodology had a value in the utility to understanding the field in and of itself. Another suggestion was that one might study phenomena in the field of personality and that this would give rise to questions about methodology that had led one to identifying variables that were significant which related to this phenomena or were part of the phenomena. It was felt in using either approach, that both purposes were important and that both approaches sooner or later really go together or come together. This brought the discussion back to the idea of starting out such a course by looking at problems of identity. As one got into questions of how to explain things that have been found in this area of identity, one then goes into looking at the methodology.

It was suggested that some theoretical kinds of ideas such as those of Lewin might be good to use at this point. This might include such things as life space and force field. It was also felt that some of the learning theories might be appropriately introduced. Caution about not getting into some of the intervening variable kinds of theory was again raised. It was suggested that

an example of a theoretical concept that might be inappropriate would be that of the unconscious.

There was a discussion about the appropriateness of studying the defenses. There were major concerns relative to mis-learning, un-learning, and inappropriate application to one's self. It might be appropriate to teach about defensive behavior as a response to certain kinds of situations rather than as part of the phenomena of inter-psychic conflict. It was further suggested that there may be very important age differences in relation to teaching of different kinds of concepts and phenomena. Defenses might be most usefully taught at early elementary level rather than at the level of adolescence where there is an onslaught of impulses which increase conflict. The Miller approach-avoidance model of multiple loyalty was suggested. Some concern was expressed regarding the adequacy of training of teachers to deal with such material in presenting it to their children.

It was suggested that the concept of ego ideal might be a good one to deal with. One approach might include the idea of empathy in terms of feeling, through yourself, the feelings of others. It was cautioned that this should be handled in such a way as not be personalized by the children. There was concern expressed that teachers' training might not be adequate in order for them to avoid personalizing the material in working with the children on it. It was also suggested that this empathy concept was middle class and therefore might be inappropriate for some groupings of children. The idea of studying character rather than dynamics was suggested. Character could be approached in terms of the descriptive life time trends that one develops rather than internal dynamics of the moment. Individual differences such as social class, culture variables, and economic background might be looked at as they relate to and influence character, role identity, etc.. It was thought that it might be most appropriate to study character and the ideas of identity at the senior high level. It was suggested that looking at sex differences would be too hot an issue around the ages of eleven and twelve. At eleven and twelve one might look at friendship and ego ideal in terms of such things as hero worship. It was recommended that the word "personality" not be used in teaching this material because of the inappropriate definitions given to it.

It was suggested, in studying sex differences, the term "differences between boys and girls" be used rather than the word "sex". It was also cautioned that normative sex descriptions be handled carefully so that the children not

interpret them as prescriptions for behavior. The importance of emphasizing the legitimacy of variance was noted. It was suggested that such materials be presented in a context of other variables. It was noted that deviance from norms is sometimes "good". Alternatives in behaving and making decisions should be high-lighted.

A number of references relative to the materials discussed were suggested. They included: Anastasi's book Individual Differences, the old rather than the new edition. Bell's NIH Infant Studies. At the senior high level it was suggested that studies of delinquency such as those of the Flint Youth Study, Havighurst and Bowman's recent book Growing Up In River City, Colman's work on the Adolescence Society, and Gold's study on Social Status in Delinquency. It was suggested that some of Sanason's work might be useful although it tended to deal heavily with anxiety. McLelland's work on sex differences relative to environment and achievement was suggested. Child development studies such as those which dealt with the relationship of parent practices to child behavior were suggested. Marty Hofman's work and Miller's and Swanson's book were suggested here. Shatter's studies of the influences of birth order was suggested and the review of some such material by Johnny Clauson was suggested. Macebbig's studies on child development were also suggested. Adelson and Duvan's work was also suggested. The national studies of youth behavior conducted by Withey were suggested. It was noted that the Canadian film board has put out a series of films, a few of which it was felt might be appropriate.

SESSION 3
GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY

Our topic is general psychology and our resource people are Professors MacLeod, McKeachie, and Miller.

MacLeod stated that he was, in general, opposed to teaching psychology as a separate discipline in the high schools. He saw other disciplines being enriched by the teacher's preparation and sophistication in psychology. Therefore, he favored much more training for teachers in psychological subjects and material, but opposed a separate discipline of psychology in the schools. Lippitt noted that what we were really after was not a separate psychology course but a multi-disciplinary course in the social sciences. MacLeod understood this but still felt that high school students were severely limited in the amount of time they had, and therefore, priorities for training were in areas other than psychology or even integrated social science. For instance, he felt we ought to give deeper and better training in the languages and literature, mathematics, and the physical and biological sciences. Social studies and social sciences had lower priority than any of these afore mentioned.

He continued saying that the student naturally responds more easily and effectively to phenomena and things outside of himself, things that are foreign to himself and objectively observable. These are also the things that the student can most effectively and easily practice the scientific methodology. Therefore, MacLeod was in favor of beginning with this kind of material from the physical and biological sciences. In this same context, he felt that we ought to start by looking at the most obvious and clearest-cut phenomena. Tasks requiring the least amount of discrimination ought to be taken first, and then we can move toward more subtle tasks and examinations of more subtle phenomena. Therefore, it would be easier to start by looking at phenomena outside of our own culture than starting within our own culture. When queried, MacLeod stated further that he would prefer students to observe falling bodies or practices in different cultures rather than the behaviors of peers or younger students within their own culture. Explicitly stated, the assumption that MacLeod is making is that curiosity more naturally points itself outward than inward.

There was considerable controversy and disagreement with this position. Lippitt, in particular, felt that it just might work the other way around.

McKeachie tried to take a stand midway between Lippitt and MacLeod on this issue. He felt that while material in the physical sciences might indeed be easier to look at objectively, it was not as salient and involving to the student as some issues in social science. Moreover, one of the things possible in social science is the sense of private discovery that students can make. Many experiments in the physical sciences are so dry and easily replicable that they don't seem to be anything very exciting. In the social sciences, discovery is something that each child can make for himself, and therefore, the learning is likely to be very important to him. In this respect, MacLeod felt that when youngsters discuss personal experience and motivation they are too often led to easy labeling, simplifications and mislearning that needs to be corrected later on.

Miller summarized part of this early discussion by distinguishing between two issues we were dealing with (1) the issue of cognitive clarity which would suggest that we start outside of the student with objectively observable events that can be clearly discriminated and discussed and, (2) the issue of involvement or salience in which we might start more realistically with issues that are close to the student and very involving and important to him. These two ways of proceeding are not necessarily contradictory; and Miller himself felt it would be more important to start with involving and salient issues. Miller proceeded to give some examples of concrete and non-abstract phenomena that were very involving to the individual and at the same time permit clarity of observation and description. One appropriate issue was "identity" or "self". Structure of self, self-esteem and self-defenses can be illustrated with cross-cultural examples, cross-generational experiences, or case material from pathology. MacLeod suggested that examples from pathology might lead to a kind of more morbidity that might be more depressing and not useful. Lippitt suggested that looking at observable events or people in interaction might be more lucid than examining dry or abstract case studies. In general, this use of self as an example represents Miller's notion that you can teach the more abstract concepts in very concrete ways.

McKeachie suggested that he would like to teach about man as an organism that is curious and a "stimulus seeker". This notion might be related to man's biological and bio-social nature and could easily lead into a discussion of the phylogenetic continuity and discontinuity of man as a bio-social being. The reticular activating system, a mediator and generator of stimuli, would be an example of a relevant physiological mechanism. McKeachie went further

in his concern to supply students with an image of man as a purposive being, and not as a puppet completely determined. Man should be seen as a being interacting with other men and with the biological, physical and social environment.

A third example of a topic was the study of language and symbols. MacLeod felt very strongly that language ought not to be taught as a task, but as one manifestation of man's attempt to communicate with other men. In studying language as a communicative act, students might look at other means of communication. They may perform exercises and experiments in the use of physical gestures, and other non-verbal means of expression.

A fourth topic involved the investigation of behavioral differences, and more particularly the effects of the social environment upon behavior. Looking at the effects of different social environment on behavior and the divergence of such behavior is one example of this topic. A second example might involve looking at how a constant or similar social stimulus may lead to different kinds of behavioral outcomes. These avenues might provide good learning about the interaction between the social environment and personal predispositions, the determination of styles and patterns of behavior.

Miller suggested another topic, that of social perception. An important lesson to be taught here is how people organize their perceptions of things in terms of their needs and desires. Social class is seen as an influence upon the individual's organization of material in the environment. The phenomena of social perception can be demonstrated by the relationship between needs, position and status and the perception of color or matter. This kind of examination might lead to the collection of various experimental data in or out of the classroom and the actual replication of certain experiments in social perception. There are many examples of optical illusions and other perceptual experiments that might be fun and very fruitful for classroom replication. Role playing could also be used to dramatize social events and see how they are perceived by different students.

MacLeod suggested that we teach students to understand other people at a fundamental level of psychological similarity and difference. This would involve not only looking at different cultures and different customs, but understanding the psychological functions of certain customs. For instance, a class might review the psychological import of puberty rituals while cataloging a variety of different customs accompanying its onset in different cultures. Minor's article on the NACERIMA might be a good example here.

These last two suggestions are related to one another since part of the examination of different cultures might be the review of the influence of culture on perceptions. For instance, MacLeod noted his experience that people in Africa do not know what a screw or a mirror is, or do not have trouble with the trapezoidal window experiment.

Miller suggested the topic of learning, and expressed some of his own concern about how this topic could be made both clear and salient for high school students. McKeachie suggested that each student could be given a rat to train, and thus see how rats learn. We all felt that any program that started with the discussion of rats would necessarily have to deal with the difficulty of generalizing from rats to people. As we discussed this further, we agreed on learning as an important part of all behavior. All behavior acts can be seen as examples of the process of learning. This led us to see the need for high school people to understand the variety of learning styles and reinforcers that are available to them both externally and internally. Man is constantly attempting to maintain and change his status, and thus tension underlies all of learning.

At this point in our discussion we moved to a review of some of the major methodological principles or orientations we wanted to be sure that high school people received in a social science course. MacLeod felt that a first priority was to learn how to look. The issue here is to train students to look at the facts, to clarify the phenomena they are talking about. We can move from looking at the phenomena to some of the more precise issues of the categorization and quantification of phenomena. McKeachie felt strongly that precise quantification was not as important as skill in categorization or nominal quantification. One of the problems in graduate education in psychology seems to be to deal with the student's orientation towards a very precise quantification in situations where it is simply not appropriate.

MacLeod suggested a second principle, for students to be aware of implications and unstated assumptions. He suggested some logical or mathematical games which could highlight this assumption-making process. Lippitt felt that games were not necessary and that there were many "life" examples which could be used to review implicit assumption making.

A third issue here was for students to understand the principle of order in the environment, and to see the relationship between order and causation. We all felt it was important to teach multiple causation and not simple causal

relationships. In discussing multiple causality, Lippitt gave an example of the elementary school teacher and the "chalk dropping" exercise. This is an exercise in which the teacher writing on the black board drops a piece of chalk and asks the class to explain why that happened. The class comes up with a multitude of explanations all of which may be operant.

Another methodological orientation is that students see human relationships as studiable and see studying human relationships as having positive value for them. Another methodological principle Miller wanted emphasized was for students to be taught the terms and relevance of the developmental stages in psychology. A final principle is that we ought not to promote the specialization of students too early. They ought to see the social world as a whole, as a reality, and not fragmented into its various sub-specializations which deprive it of its reality. A major theme running through our discussion of method was the need to make methodological lessons or interventions very explicit. In this way students could distinguish between methodology and content in social science.

We then decided to focus for the remaining period on the delineation of the frontiers of knowledge in psychology. We wanted to see what kinds of new developments were going on, what kinds of new and exciting projects our consultants knew about or were working on. Our thought was that these new frontiers might provide the basis for a curriculum in psychology and the social sciences. MacLeod began by explaining his interest in the study of thinking and the comparative study of thinking and higher thought processes through the study of language. Part of his interest in this field is due to his notion that symbolic communication is really a quality this is unique to men. Beyond that, language is one of a variety of ways man conveys meanings to other men. This conception of the process of communication could lead very well into Meadian notions of symbolic interaction as the basis for social interaction. MacLeod thought it was important to get students interested in the words they use and their own patterns of language. One of the ways of doing this might be for the students to learn an artificial language, or to learn to communicate without words. At the graduate level, MacLeod has his students invent a perfect language, or a language that satisfies psychological needs of diction and symbolic communication. Looking at word equivalents across different languages might be an excellent way of studying language and cultural differences. MacLeod thought it was crucial for teachers of languages in high school to be aware of these possibilities and psychological insights in language training. In many ways our own

language is so obsolete and full of redundancy, that its examination could be an exciting exercise for high school students.

McKeachie felt that another area of great excitement, another frontier, was recent work in patterns of interaction between people. Balance theory and identity theory by Newcomb, Heider, and Miller were some of the major models in this area. A study of patterns of interaction may lead into issues of circular and multiple causation, and examples of flexibility and change in persons. One of the ways of getting at these areas might be to have all the children observe "youngsters" in a variety of situations, and see how behavior is different in different situations. This may be a dramatic example of interaction between persons, and between persons and their environment.

McKeachie felt it was important to teach the notion of dynamics of personal and interpersonal life--that children see themselves and each other as always changing and having a potential for change. The process of mediating between inner needs and environmental pressures can be seen as a major determinant for behavior. In this context an attitude held toward another individual is not a demonstration of need but an example of how the other person appears to the perceiving individual. The interaction between this perception and the need associated with it might be examined as a way to deal with both social perception and social interaction in the classroom.

Another major frontier suggested was the investigation of the biological and physiological limits on human behavior, and the possibilities for the expansion of these limits through drugs, training, and new kinds of genetic control. The influence of biology and physiology upon psychological feeling states and behavior would be an interesting avenue for students to explore.

The fourth major area we got into was the new development in mathematical sociology. Along with this we discussed development in simulation exercises, games, and other experiences as ways of learning social psychological and psychological principles.

Miller felt that another important area was that of motivation. Issues of conflicts between different motives, aspirations, and frustration were most interesting areas for him. Perhaps more interesting to students might be some of the social motivation issues, such as a need for achievement, needs for affection, need for power, and the like, that are found in Atchinson's system. Relating this back to some of our earlier orientations we emphasized the need for students to see motivation not only in inherent bio-physical needs, but also

arising out of social structure and interaction with other people. The interaction of the environmental, social relational, and bio-physiological needs produce a multiple notion of behavioral causation. Along with motivation, of course, came the other major traditional areas of perception and learnings, both of which we talked about a little earlier.

A final area that McKeachie suggested was the relationship between social structure or cultural framework and personality. Throughout these six or eight areas we constantly talked about starting with things that were real to the students and then moving to more abstract and analytic frameworks and concepts.

As a final note, we spent much time during this meeting talking about the relevance of psychology as a formal and separate discipline in the school, or psychology as an intervention in other disciplines in the school or psychology really as a kind of training that ought to be given to teachers. MacLeod felt that too much time is spent at the college level now in teaching about psychology, when we should be teaching more of the physical and natural sciences, literature and the humanities, and mathematics. The major contribution of psychology to education, he felt, lies in the training of teachers, not in establishing a separate curriculum. We ought to train teachers to be curious about the psychological relationships of man, then this kind of concern would infuse their teaching and many of their activities in the classroom. The result would be that students would become psychologically sophisticated about a variety of topics rather than sophisticated about some particular content in psychology.

- In this context of seeing psychology as a supplement to other disciplines, McLeod talked about the relevance of psychological insights in literature, in the humanities and the arts, in analysis of language as an example of communicative acts.

In reviewing our own process, and the "Statement of the Problem", Miller felt the topic in itself was potentially blocked because of some of the resource people's lack of knowledge of high school students and curriculum. Therefore, it might be difficult for them to focus on this issue. . . We debated whether it would be best to start with this focus on the high school course, or with a focus on the new and exciting developments in particular fields of knowledge. Last week, for instance, people were able to focus on the basic question with great fruitfulness because they felt sophisticated about the adolescent world and adolescent needs. Perhaps the best alternative is to start the way

we have; but before we go too far into the meeting, we ought to push in the other direction and see what kinds of new and exciting developments ~~that are~~ in the fields being discussed.

SESSION 4
SOCIAL SCIENCE APPLICATION

The consultants for this session were Professors Menlo, Rothman and Thomas.

Menlo suggested that a focus for social science curriculum development be that of identifying methodologies, approaches, and strategies for changing behavior. This would include looking at conditions that facilitate and hinder change and at what the various outcomes of such efforts are known to be. Both intra and inter personal systems, and systems of relationships would be involved. The change target here is considered universal. One would aim for an objectively value free orientation.

Under social power, one would aim to bring out the implication of various uses of power, and awareness of what happens to individuals who are part of the system in which particular kinds or uses of power occur.

It was noted that the orientation here is one of integrating the content from various fields of social science. It was seen as a process of selecting different concepts from fields as they seemed relevant to change. For example perception would not seem to be relevant to a social psychology curriculum.

Menlo felt that problem solving was closely related to the change process. He therefore felt that it was important for some frameworks to be developed so that problem solving approaches could be diagnosed and evaluated.

Rothman felt that a study of social systems should be included. Benne, Chin et.al., were mentioned as a reference here.

Menlo suggested that helping children become familiar with the whole idea of research would be useful especially if they developed an awareness of how active research solves problems. This could acquaint them with the idea that the life process itself is really an action research process. Action research would be seen as a sub-part of research which deals especially with change. Problem solving experiences and illustrations could be developed relevant to the classroom, the school, and the community. Initially it should involve the pupils collecting data to solve problems that are immediately relevant to themselves.

It was suggested that level of abstraction is particularly important when starting to choose content or teaching method. It was suggested that one

start at the level which is most relevant and most easily identifiable by the student. It might be best to start with an example involving some decision making in the classroom. One could then look at the generalizations to family and community. Concepts of role and the family could be raised and then the students could look at their own families. Role might be a useful topic either in itself or within some other area.

This is an assumption that certain material is threatening and therefore will not be learned well. It was noted that there was also a vigilance problem. The latter would suggest that material that has some threat can often be learned and integrated best. It may well be that some of the problem that one gets into in the area of caution about what concept should be taught is based on the controversial nature of the concept itself rather than simply the notion that it may give rise to misapplications or traumatic experience as one thinks of it in relation to oneself.

The discussion turned again to the question of general focus of this curriculum development. It was restated that the focus might best be that of the application of social science to changing of behavior. It was noted that such a focus could be applied on a macro level or micro level. One desired to present the material so that it cut across both the micro and macro levels, then it was felt that such a cross focus would need to be planned for from the beginning.

The question of what are currently exciting topics for each of the consultants in his field at the present time was raised. Rothman noted that power structure and social power as discussed earlier was one.

Thomas stated that he is particularly intrigued by the "behavioristic" approaches to changing behavior. He felt that many people have been ignoring these approaches recently, but that new worthwhile work is being done in this area. His interest includes current work in behavioristic psychotherapy. This approach has been supported by a good deal of laboratory research. Van Buren and Walter's book, Social Learning and Personality Development, was mentioned. Van Buren had a paper in the psychology bulletin a couple of years back called, Behavioristic Therapy. There is also a paper called, Imitation and Modeling in the Nebraska symposium. Eysenck had edited a volume of papers on behavioristic psychotherapy of the neuroses. There is a book by Walpee called, Reciprocal Inhibition in Psychotherapy. Thomas thought this latter to be a very good book. There is a paper in a very recent issue of the Psychology

Bulletin which reviews the literature on behavioristic therapy.

Rothman stated his current interest in the area of social conflict and consensus in change. He noted the growing awareness of the constructive functions of conflict as opposed to the earlier striving for consensus. Conflict resolution was suggested as another broad topic for the course. It was suggested that it might be applicable at various levels of aggregation as would be the case with the topic of change.

The consultants were asked where they might begin in the teaching of a social science course to high school if they were to do it themselves. Menlo stated that he might well start with Pavlov and some things such as Weber's Law. He would then move on to Thordike and Skinner. The main topic here would be learning synonymously defined and behavioral change. He would prefer specific to general theory. He would select content where empirical backing existed for the ideas or concepts on theories. General theories would be seen as too general. He would prefer to use substantive theories and principles as opposed to integrating generalities.

Menlo mentioned that he felt there is quite a bit of exciting material now coming out of experimental social psychology where rigorous empirical methodology is being used. This would include topics such as alterism, dissonance, decision making and some of Shockeers study of the deviant. Lippitt and White's and Coleman's books were also mentioned.

It was questioned whether the curriculum should introduce students to an awareness of what and who social scientists are. This point was generally acceptable and it was suggested, it should form an early part of the course. Rationale for this would include its value in recruitment and its value in porviding early modeling experience.

The question of the organization of the content was now raised. Menlo looked at it from the standpoint of the topics and aggregates to which topics pertain. He noted that he has worked out a 4 x 5 chart which is discussed in a paper that he has recently written. The four points on one dimension include 1) change of influence; 2) natural developmental processes; 3) deviations, abnormalities, atypicalities, aborations and 4) normalities, typicalities, etc. The other dimension has the aggregates on it. They would include 1) the individual; 2) group; 3) organization; 4) community and 5) society. He noted that in teaching we tend to start with the lower aggregates and work up assuming

that this was the best approach.

The question of where value would enter into this content was raised. It was noted that the substance of the field and the engineering aspects of application of any of this substance are different fields. It was felt that values and ethics affected the structure of the curriculum and teaching methods more than the substantive material in the field. In teaching about something like deviance, values, beliefs and norms become crucial topics.

SESSION 5

COGNITION

Our resource people at this meeting of the high school social science education team are Professors Burnstein and Zajonc. The topic for discussion is cognition and the part that cognition might play in an integrated social science course at the high school level.

Burnstein started off with an important principle that students conduct experiments during this course. Such experimentation, particularly the replication of well tested experiments, should be a highly involving and exciting way to learn. Both Burnstein and Zajonc felt that perhaps cognition should not be a topic all by itself, but better treated as part of a unit on learning. In the learning unit we could deal with neurological and physiological mechanisms in animals and man, and gradually move toward verbal learning, cognition and finally more complex problem solving. An interesting issue to focus on might be the development of concepts within the child and, in fact, the psychological meanings of concepts. It might be very fruitful, in the manner of Bruner, Austin and Goodenough, to trace certain physical terms such as space or time and inquire into their psychological meaning for youngsters. As well as using physical terms, we might look at the learning of social relational concepts in the manner of Piaget or Heider. Children could look at what "friendship" or "anger" or "relationship" means, psychologically.

The question of whether to focus on physiological, neural or verbal learning may partly be resolved by understanding the nature of the high school into which we plan to introduce the material. For instance, if the high school is very strong in biology and chemistry, and has good laboratory space, then it makes sense to introduce a physiological or neurological learning course. It takes best advantage of the material and personnel resources available in that school. On the other hand, if the high school is rich in social science personnel and resources, it is quite reasonable to introduce a verbal and concept formation type learning course.

Since experimentation is a most important part of learning about learning, or learning about cognition, the consultants felt that starting from physiological and neurological material might be easier. It is easier to build well designed and well tested experiments in this area than in the social science

or verbal learning area. The course could focus on experiments around classical conditioning and the Skinnerbox, proceed to discrimination learning or generalization learning, and gradually move toward experiments around concept formation, problem solving, or decision making. In as many instances as possible these experiments should be done either on animals or on other students in their own or other classrooms.

We all agreed that some kind of manual for the teacher was a good idea, and that we could build an entire course on experiments. But some felt that there was no reason why these experiments could not be of a social science type from the very beginning. Problem solving and decision making could include voting behavior or economic behavior as well as social-interaction, and conformity experiments. Students could learn the scientific method by polling themselves, their peers, and their parents. They could then report back the poll results in class. The general issue here is that in all cases the data and phenomena of life are seen to be capable of being studied. They follow certain rules of cause and effect.

Zajonc felt that in all cases these experiments should be well designed and well tested to insure that they cannot fail and that they will come out the way that the literature states. There was some disagreement about this. Other people in the group felt that this might tend to replicate dry and sterile discovery experiences for the children. In fact, it might be well to do experiments when we did not know the answer. In this way students may find their own answers to the way they behave with one another and some social phenomena in the classroom. Well proven experiments may rob the children of discovery experiences, the creation of new and rich kinds of design on their part. One way suggested to resolve this argument may be to start small with the Skinnerbox and classical conditioning, and gradually move to more complex social oriented and discovery type phenomena.

A "cookbook" manual with many experiments might permit the teacher to do them blindfolded with very little extra training. Some of the social experiments that might be included in such a laboratory manual are experiments on social perception, influence, and causality. Perhaps, also, the famous Trapezoidal illusion, the autokinetic effect, and some of Festinger's work on dissonance and dissonance reduction. One example of some dissonance experiments could be some stuff we have already tried out and know about, for instance, some of the material on smoking and cancer that Erlick has done or some of the material

about information and dissonance reduction after decision making. A very relevant topic might be the relationship between time spent studying and performance, particularly in terms of levels of aspiration and expectation of grades.

A high school class might work on smaller children and look at how younger students see and learn about physical causation and phenomena as a way of learning about how they, themselves, see it. Another area might be linguistics and verbal transfer, particularly if we have already looked at verbal learning and verbal generalization. It would then be easy to move over into semantic operations. Rommetveit's material on symbol recognition and language, gets at the social meanings of symbols.

One other area that might be very interesting to look at involves the link between biological and social processes. We talked about drugs and about looking comparatively across animals and humans. We might also look at imprinting, with perhaps some movies as well as slides of imprinting experiments. Further, some of McConnel's work on the flatworms might be interesting and useful to students. Other material on cognitive processes and physiological processes includes looking at lie detectors, LSD, and other aspects of psychopharmacological and placebo effects.

Throughout the discussion, there was general agreement that we ought not to spend much time giving high school students grand theory or large scale generalizations. This was principally because many major theories are really unsubstantiated by any serious and empirical findings at this point. Any theory or empirical generalization that we do give them ought to be easily observable and ought to be something that they themselves could experiment on. If they cannot experiment with it or if it is invisible and speculative then we really ought not to give it to the class.

At this point in our discussion we decided to move away from being concerned particularly about high school courses and ask our consultants about the frontiers of knowledge in their fields. What are the things that are exciting that are happening now, that look like the new and promising areas for the developments of knowledge? There are many new things coming out in the area of psycholinguistics, linguistic analysis and the use of linguistic diversity as a variable in performance and cognition. There are many new areas where we may apply linguistic analysis to understand human social behavior at the symbolic as well as conditioning level. Issues such as word frequency, word meaning, and degree of word repetition are some important examples. There are also many new

developments in the measurement of cognitive style and the understanding of cognitive biases. Work needs to be done on the way that these styles are related both to the work of psycholinguistics as well as other aspects of behavior. Desoto and Kuethe are on this frontier.

Schacter is doing fascinating work on the interaction of cognitive states and the physiological states. He shows how behavior reflects the way cognitive style and verbal input modify and interpret the physiological state. We also have here the example of how social norms and notions of "appropriateness" can influence physiological input and the effect of physiological input on behavior.

Further, it appears from the literature that reinforcement theory as a theory of learning and social development is about on its way out. Some other theory such as cognitive theory is going to take its place. Parallel to this some of Bandura's work suggests that learning theory will be applied to the analysis of socialization to a much greater extent than it has been. MacKinnon and Hinley, at Bryn Mawr, have recently done a laboratory manual we might look at. The design here would involve a highly structured text with many experiments that could demonstrate a single lesson. In this way we might minimize the amount of extra teacher training required.

SESSION 6
LEARNING

Professor Melton acted as consultant for this session.

The first question that was raised was the purpose of developing a high-school level social science curriculum. It was noted that there might need to be differences in such a curriculum dependent on whether the high school students were college-bound or terminal. It was suggested that every person needs some understanding of the basic mechanisms of behavior. This should be done at least to the extent that people do not ascribe behavior to mysterious forces.

Some aspects of learning are now being treated in the teaching of biological sciences. Some demonstrations of learning experiments are to be seen currently in science fairs. Classical and operant conditioning processes are being treated in some high school courses in the biological sciences. It was noted that while this may be true, such topics as in current courses are relatively rare and generally isolated to the college bound student.

It was suggested that we are to work on focusing on social learning in so far as it deals with learning processes. Classical and operant conditioning in the area of social learning should be dealt with. Imitation in learning such as dealt with in the work on Van Duren would be important. The importance of imitation as an origin of learning was emphasized. Examples of this imitation in social learning such as in the family and also in the classroom could be focused upon. A package drawing upon the experimentation in this area could be developed. The move here would be from empirical work to generalizations for the behavior that pupils see around themselves. Older children might observe younger children as one way of illustrating the principles that are involved. The purpose of such learning was seen as that of gaining a better understanding of individual behavior or what some might call personality.

The question of whether a little knowledge may be a dangerous thing was raised. The point could be made that things learned about learning in biological experimentation and class work could be viewed in this curriculum in the context of human learning or social learning. This would emphasize that such principles are generalizable and applicable in the behavior one sees in one-self and in those around one. An awareness which should result would be that we

are very much the product of our environment. An approach to understanding individual behavior based on learning theory might be relatively safe and non-dramatic as compared to involving pupils in some of the more esoteric theories, such as that of psychoanalysis.

Three concepts of social learning theory that were suggested as the basis of curriculum developed concerning learning were as follows: 1) Imitation: that is, learning by the observation of others. Van Duren makes a good case for this by the most important origin of new response patterns, both pro-medical and deviant. It is not trial-and-error and it is not guided learning usually. It is incidental learning through observation of others. 2) Reinforcement: the second factor is the reinforcement of behavior as it is emitted, habits getting shaped and strengthened through this reinforcement. There are a variety of reinforcements that can operate. 3) Non-reinforcement: the occurrence of non-reinforcement affects the discontinuance of behaviors. It causes disorganization of behavior patterns.

It was suggested that this approach ties in with what are thought of, or called, human motivations. This could include notions such as those of the creation of human needs. It was suggested that Jack Atkinson or Dave Birch would be good persons to talk to in this area.

Melton felt that the three concepts mentioned in the area of social learning should be the basis of curriculum around learning, not because of their being simple, but rather because of their being most important. Focus on phenomena such as memory or ideas of massed versus distributed practice were felt to be of much lesser importance and questionable validity. The relationship between the non-reinforcement and reinforcement of ongoing operant behaviors, on the other hand, was seen as most relevant. Also important would be the origin of behaviors. Some of them are deliberate modeling. Less deliberate or unconscious modeling would be very important. It should be noted that there are some other origins of behavior along with that of imitation.

It should be recognized that there are genuinely new understandings and modes of behavior and organizing information such as in the results of creative problem solving. Instructions, on the other hand, would be modeling in which the model deliberately serves as a model. Less obvious imitation could be illustrated by experiments which demonstrate operant verbal conditioning. This would include things such as increasing or reducing the use of adjectives. This kind of demonstration could be carried out by a class using members

of naive classes as subjects. Demonstration of some of these reinforcement effects could be set up in the classroom, but caution was advised in experimentation with the behavior of other pupils.

One awareness that was seen as important centered around the fact that we start processing information input at a very early age as we imitate different models presented to us. This results in selective storage of different awarenesses.

At this point we turned to the question of what is currently exciting in the work on learning to Melton. Melton noted that one thing that has been emerging in the past five years that is of considerable interest to him lies in the area of associative learning as distinguished from problem solving. Associative learning is seen as involved in problem solving.

It has been recognized that the best experimental example of associative learning is in the area of verbal learning. Melton made three points; 1) Verbal learning is being found to offer great advantages of limiting and controlling variables and of identifying them. What is being learned can be restricted to that which is a new relationship between old well-learned effect, on to the learning of connections between new factors. Stimulus, predifferentiated stimulus, differentiated stimulus learning on one side of the picture, and response intergration on the other side; these things can be analyzed and dealt with. 2) Several components of associative learning are being differentiated and labeled, such as: complex relationships, stimulus learning or perceptual learning; response interpretation; and associative relationships. 3) Some of the fundamental characteristics of storage or memory are being identified in short memorization experiments. These new discoveries are very much involved with methodological advances. Some of the work of the physiological psychologists in their experimentation with animals is having an effect here. The psychologists are finding that there is a necessary period of consolidation of learning. The insight is that every learning combination of the associative process, as a study of learning, had been approached in the past, mainly from the standpoint of the retention process. Identifying the associative processes and looking forward to applying them to more complex learning situations is quite new.

Melton suggested that the approach to high school curriculum development in the area of learning theory should not be one of demonstrating the supposed relative efficiency of different kinds of learning. He felt that not enough was

known in order to be able to validly take this kind of approach. The approach that he suggested would use cases to illustrate empirically-based points. These could be in the form of classroom demonstrations and also could involve bringing in data that the pupils observed outside the classroom. He noted further that the nature of generalizations should be explored. This might be conceived of in terms of the level of knowledge reflected in empirically-based principles. The question of teaching was raised and it was suggested that materials could be developed in such a way that a comparatively untrained teacher could handle them, and that some emphasis could also be directed toward increased training of teachers.

SESSION 7

SMALL GROUPS

Our resource people for this session are Professors Kahn and Seashore. The general topic for discussion is the social environment of small groups. Seashore began by reviewing a dilemma regarding the objectives of a high school social science course. He noted that one objective was to move in the direction of socially therapeutic goals and content for the course - material that would be useful in changing individuals' behavior and permitting them to live and work more successfully in social groups and organizations. Another objective, on a more abstract level, was to learn the concepts, methods and materials of social science. This latter goal principally would train young people to be social scientists rather than training them to enter into effective relationships in groups. Nimroth suggested that probably students needed both of these directions, since some of the students are terminal and others are going on to college. The range of students probably need not only to be trained to perform effectively in groups, but also need some analytic skills in understanding and working in social science.

Kahn suggested three general objectives he would have in teaching to high school students. 1) Examine with the students the "meaning" of membership in small groups, and to look at the relationship between the individual and the group. He felt that it was important in this context for the individual to understand some of the rewards and costs of membership in a group and some of the limitations as well as growth possibilities that exist for the individual. 2) Understand how the group is a powerful force in shaping individual behavior and influencing the structure of personality. This influence of group upon personal behavior and personality is a continuing process, so that in many ways we might describe the person as a product of group influences. 3) And last, have the student see that certain groups and institutional characteristics are themselves malleable, modifiable, and changeable by acts and intentions of individuals. In fact, individuals can change not only the nature of group life, but often the very structure of groups and organizations. This last point is often overlooked not only in much of our research but in much of our teaching. Seashore elaborated on part of the second objective, by noting that actually personality and personal characteristics are constantly changing. In this

context we can more easily understand that this continuing process of personality formation is partly the result of situational and group influences.

Some additional objectives were added by the consultants in the course of our discussion. Seashore emphasized a focus on the immediate forces on behavior and the minimization of the historical or developmental approach to explaining social events. Kahn added a fifth, a constant attempt to link conceptual and experiential learning. The experiential concern here is to train teachers to use immediate materials available in the classroom rather than being frightened and running away from them. The integration of the curriculum into the life experiences of the child, the examination of immediate behavioral events and feelings, the possible use of the classroom group as the data for social scientific study, are examples of ways of linking conceptual learning about groups to the feelings and experiences related to these concepts. As an alternative or an addition we might prepare case studies which help to slowly move untrained or frightened teachers to dealing with the more immediate events in the classroom. Kahn introduced another objective of a course, that the high school students be encouraged and trained to get inside and understand their own motivations and the causes of their own behavior. This concern grows directly out of the link between conceptual and experimental learning and suggests the need for students to understand themselves and the internal and external forces that cause their behavior. Seashore felt that it would be important to include as an adjunct to course content some form of laboratory activities and skill training. This is important so students can feel and practice some of the issues we think are important about small groups. Such a laboratory focus would also facilitate the conceptual-experiential link suggested earlier.

The consultant team now turned to a discussion of some of the key social science concepts that are important to introduce into the high school classroom. Kahn suggested the need for a general familiarity with some of the issues around conflict resolution. There is a need to review alternatives to the common thinking about conflicts as a zero sum game, where there is one winner and one loser, where there is one white and one black side and where the stakes are not divisible. Kahn felt that so much of the next generation's problems around war, intergroup relations, and family and community process depend upon the young people understanding alternative strategies for conflict reduction and resolutions, that this was very important to introduce into the classroom. A second issue closely connected here is for young people to understand

how conflict can be used creatively. Students should not be taught only to resolve conflicts, but also how to use conflict to generate growth or change in static or stagnant organizations and situations.

Another series of concepts suggested by Seashore were social power, authority, and status. These three can be lumped together since they are closely tied to the kinds of roles people play in organizations. They are also variables that are observable in the classroom group, and easily related to the kinds of behavior kids engage in in the classroom group. Parenthetically, these concepts are also relevant to the family and work group. Furthermore, they grow right out of Kahn's concern about conflict resolution since social power, authority, and status are often the greatest generators of conflicts in organizations. As a dramatic example, one can raise the question of how an underprivileged, underpowered minority like the teenager can deal with an overprivileged authority like the parent. Here is a model then of intergenerational conflict that may be helpful to students looking at intergroup conflicts in the total society.

Kahn suggested a number of other key concepts relevant to conflict management and problem solving: change, compromise, integrated solutions, and acceleration of conflicts. There are other terms from system theory, that help us look at social systems such as: sub-systems, superordinant systems, system dynamics, space, distance, structure, function, boundary. Others mainly from group dynamics include: power and control, decision making, communication, leadership, attraction and cohesion, role and values.

Many of these conflicts can be considered simultaneously as aspects of persons, of interpersonal situations, or of things that go on within a small group or organization. The consultants agreed that one could start either with these concepts and organize a course around them, or start with some raw and experiential phenomena, and gradually move to looking at some of these concepts to explain the phenomena. In either case, we would organize a course along disciplinary lines, along the traditional lines of the university or scientific pie cutting. An alternative is to organize along the lines of certain kinds of life experiences or life processes.

Throughout this list of key concepts we seem to come back to several central ones such as: mutual and multiple cause and effect, multiple determinism, interaction, interdependence, and change. One basic concern of the consultants is developing some language across disciplinary lines, and across life processes. Hopefully, we can then use technical terms and concepts in ways that are useful

to the feelings and life experiences of high school students. One of the problems in talking about key concepts or organizing key concepts has been just such a problem of language. Our consultants have no objections to the use of scientific terminology and models such as the field force, life space, etc., if they were used in such a way that made them relevant and clear to the student. They were not concerned that learning these terms and models at the high school level would necessitate unlearning or confusion later on. In this respect they disagree with Cartwright's position in one of our earlier sessions when he objected to the use of Lewinian models and concepts with high school students.

The consultants decided to shift for a while to a discussion of some of the strategies for getting such concepts across, some teaching methodologies. First of all there will have to be some specific discussion of theory or content, particularly of such a thing as conflict resolution. It is necessary to give students more sophisticated and complex input beyond the normal myths or simplified explanations that are in vogue. Secondly, it is helpful for students to think about new and different alternatives for dealing with a given event or behavioral situation. And some of these alternatives can actually be tested in behavior as well as considered conceptually. There is a need for some problem solving demonstrations using vivid contemporary material rather than historical events and materials. A problem solving concern could be used to look at the "here and now" and at the current community. Students might examine some of the parallels between the here and now of the classroom group and the small group in the family and the community. The whole T-group quality of making the problems to be solved the here and now problems of the people in the present group can be used. It is an important method to introduce into the classroom, and an important way of proceeding in learning social science material. As an example, students might look at patterns of dating and exclusion right in the classroom group. To get a little further away from this students could do content analyses of newspapers or of community processes in the classroom. In an attempt to dramatize community problems and bring them into class for study they might attempt surveys of the community. Any variety of conflicting input brought into the classroom could be used as an example of how to deal with conflicts. In using such surveys, the teacher can lay out certain problems for the students to deal with, and at the same time take advantage of the kind of problems the students think they want to discuss. By designing their own surveys students can help determine curriculum content, or the specific problem to be the content

of curriculum attention.

Seashore suggested there be a place in the course to look at the front page of the community newspaper. Kahn made the following suggestion in this context: students might listen to two conflicting news commentators broadcasting about the same event or editorializing about the same controversial issue. Then students might analyze the content of both these programs, thereby learning some things about the social scientific process, namely, the comparative process and the possibility of objectifying subjective events. Furthermore, they would learn something concretely about the social issues that are being discussed. Radio commentators, newspaper reports and opinion journals, are all appropriate material for this kind of study. Attendance at, observation of, and reports from the city council meetings can be another example of this process.

Several suggestions were made to ease the teacher's burden in this process. Some outside special interest groups might be utilized as resources here, either presenting things in the classroom or providing materials to students. In some cases parental help may be possible. Particularly in a university community such as Ann Arbor, parents, educators and social scientists may be able to come into the classroom and help out. And, students may be given personal projects that they can work on throughout the semester.

At this point in our session we decided to move on to looking at some of the frontiers of social scientific knowledge. Seashore suggested that one frontier was the new look at how social process and relationships in small groups and organizations affect not only organizational efficiency, but the physiological and mental health of the individuals within. A second frontier was some of new kinds of thinking and conceptions of the goals of social organizations. Greater sophistication in this area has led the social scientist to consider that any organization has a multiplicity of goals. Therefore, different parts of the organization have goals that may be independent or instrumental to the goals of the embracing organization. Understanding this multiplicity permits us more successfully to look at and to assess goal movement, and to develop multiple indicators for organizational success, goal movement or status. This is particularly relevant for high school students. They can look at the multiple goals of the classroom or of the school in terms of the aims and practices of the boards of education, supervisors, teachers, and students.

Kahn suggested another frontier, that of simulation. This development has permitted previously speculative or abstract and historical kind of work to

be empirically tested. Along with this, we have seen the development of computerization and the mathematical description of social units and social processes. Further, and closely connected to the possibilities of mathematical treatment, is the possibility of viewing social structures as another step in the development of biological systems. We may now look at the parallels between social and physical or social and biological systems. In general, general system theory is appropriate to investigate here.

Another frontier area suggested was the concern for problems of freedom and conformity expressed in research being done by people like Ash and Milgram. They are working on the personal and psychological preconditions for freedom, for conformity, and for obedience to peer and authority systems. Along with such concerns for freedom and choice, scientists are doing a lot of developmental work on ways of bringing about change. This concern operates at the individual level and, of course, at the organizational level. We know a lot about change now and we ought to teach and explore some of the strategies for change. Some of the strategies that are worthwhile learning about extend from coercion through persuasion and exhortation. A lot of the possibilities in between are counseling, T-group work, psychotherapy, drugs and physiological measures and brainwashing. There are also ways that operate at the sociological and macro-systems level, such as legislation, educational system change, norm change, etc. We are almost at the stage now where we can pretty much engineer the kinds of human behavior and motives that we want, so this is a critical area to learn about. Partly, it is important to learn about because of the future potential that is involved, and because of the potential future public reaction to scientific expertise in this area.

A final frontier in this very sensitive change area is the new technological feasibility of providing a community feedback about itself and about the things it does. Sometimes we can do that and predict what will happen even before the community does it. Sometimes we give feedback afterwards. One thing involved here is making new links between the sources of knowledge and the users or receivers of knowledge. An example here is the election procedure, where we pretty much know ahead of time who is going to vote for whom, how it will come about, and why. What is the effect of giving pre-election feedback about this process? Further, what is the effect of giving teachers feedback and new information about their classrooms and teaching styles?

SESSION 8

ORGANIZATIONS

Professors 'aier, Hoffman, and Mann acted as consultants for today's investigation of organizations. One approach suggested was that of comparing the advantages and disadvantages of being in a group. This could include looking at group problem-solving as compared to individual problem-solving. Strengths and weaknesses could be compared. For example, within group problem-solving there is liable to be more disagreement, therefore yielding more possible solutions. Laboratory type experimentation or demonstration could be used to explore this.

Some possible purposes for developing the social science curriculum were discussed. One would be to get across the idea that people as well as one might study physical objects. It was suggested that this curriculum should be relevant to college bound as well as terminal pupils. Following from this, one might best develop this curriculum from experience close to the students. It was suggested that decision-making might be a good focus with an underlying purpose, exploring what the democratic process is. One should look at how procedures and norms affect a group's decision making. One could ask, "what are problems and values you have experienced in groups?" A simultaneous purpose could be that of educating people about how to work within a group. If this latter were the purpose, one might best start by looking at the dimensions of groups. An important focus here would be that of looking at self, in terms of identity, in relation to multiple group membership and loyalties. A possible teaching method would be that of using case studies, also stories from fiction. Three possible objectives were enumerated at this point. They were to 1) raise interest in group phenomena 2) function better in a group and 3) proselytize in terms of interest in the phenomena, i.e., curiosity, on the basis of problem experiences, and on the basis of model exposure.

Baudas network experiment was suggested as one which could arouse curiosity. Schacter's experiment involving the deviant was another suggested. Concern about psychology being seen as manipulative was raised. It was felt that having stooges in experiments should be avoided. It was suggested, on the other hand, that something on manipulation should be presented so long as there was opportunity to explore the problems involved in manipulation. It

should be brought out that the experimenter is part of the field. The different courses, or different curricula, with different objectives, might be offered to different student populations.

It was noted that a more objective approach can be taken as coming out of sociometry in which there is objective observation of group phenomena. This could be presented outside the manipulative context. Such phenomena as cliques, leadership, membership, the criteria of selection, and authority could be explored. These phenomena are very obviously apparent to students. They consequently tend to have great interest. Values cannot be separated from these phenomena and can be looked at profitably in discussion.

The phenomena of collusion was suggested as one worth looking at. This led to discussion of the family as a small group and therefore a good context within which to explore this. There is a need to present such material objectively. Miller and Westman's study on family collusion to produce a reading problem was cited. Teenagers very likely are not even aware of the fact that when they are in a family they are a member of a group. A complimentary topic to collusion was suggested as being that of the pluralistic ignorance in group phenomena which was identified by Shank and Katz study.

Another approach was suggested as embodied in the question, "what do you have to know about a person, personality wise, to predict his role in the group?" Discussion on this yielded a caution that this could lead to "slotting people". The group felt that this kind of approach should not be included. It was suggested that behavior is determined more by the situation than by the role that one is in. There was objection to using material such as that of Goffman on "presenting the self". It might be better to give a situation and then have the person play themselves rather than acting out a role. A problem here is that of allowing for deviations from role expectations. Playing the part of a role could raise stereotypes which could then be looked at. The self in the situation can yield demonstration of how your real self can act in that situation. It can also demonstrate that group members force individuals toward stereotype role behavior. Students tend to be very interested in exploring their various roles, e.g., as part of home room, class, lunch group, and recess. Ideas arise such as that of individuals getting stuck in roles such as clown, or brain.

Presentation of ideas on the evolution of groups was suggested. It was noted that groups have a "social reality" like a baby. Groups, like a baby, are initially rather nonfunctional. Groups evolve mechanisms which increase

their ability to function. Mechanisms might include such things as decision processes, decision-making effectiveness, norms, criteria for effectiveness, roles, and status structures. The problems of an individual entering a group and finding a place and a way to contribute to the group could be examined. Also the problems of an individual leaving a group could be looked at. This raises the possibility of contrasting the experiences of groups. One could look at such things as the expectations within a group and also watch the process of change as, say, a classroom group meets over a period of time. An important phenomenon to study would be that of group members' sense of propriety over the group process. What initiative is taken by members of the group in terms of authority, autonomy, defiance? Rebellion can be a functional phenomenon in group development. You can also look at the developmental differences of individuals as it affects the experience in groups. Coleman's study of the high school culture could be used.

It was suggested that this curriculum should include something about animals' grouping as a natural phenomenon of life. For example, the flock of sheep, the herd of horses, the behavior of lemmings, the mores of baboons such as described in the Scientific American article by Washburn, leader and follower behavior such as the dominance among rats, chickens' pecking order, and so forth. This would raise a number of questions about the problems of group life.

Questions of sex is another point. This could include an approach such as that of the phenomena of going steady and of dating norms. It should be brought out that there are measurable regularities in groups. Looking at norms would raise the "free will" question and conformity phenomena. Don Marcus, for example, finds that groups take greater risks than individuals. The Army studies and Lewin's food-preference study could be used.

The discussion now turned to the current interests of the consultants. One of these interests focused on the interrelatedness of cognitive with effectiveness in group problem solving. It was felt that most groups operate at a very low level developmentally. People have great difficulty separating their ideas and their feelings. Work being done now which makes predictions of solutions of groups based on the interrelatedness of these two factors are pretty good. An index of this type has been worked out. A "threshold point" is reached when a solution becomes adopted.

Another interest is that of looking at groups as a source of influence in the organization. Groups with a certain composition, cohesion, etc., are

most apt to exert influence.

More quantitative work is also going on. There interest is an increased liaison between the social and the clinical approach to studying groups. It was felt that there is currently a move from the Bales type categorization to more general inquiry or some system approaching a clinical analysis. The effort is to incorporate the clinician's analysis with small groups' categorizations. An integrative system is needed.

Experiments were suggested which could be replicated. Criteria for such experiments were suggested as being that they have results which were certain or that they involve interesting phenomena. The "truck problem" was suggested. The "horse-trading problem" was also suggested. However, the latter has only one answer, so that as word of it gets out it cannot be used again.

SESSION 9
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Professors Converse and Jennings were our consultants for Political Science in the Curriculum. Converse began by partially reporting a discussion that he had had sometime ago with a group of political scientists about the high school curriculum. In their discussions there were ten clusters of concepts and phenomena which they felt were important to cover. The first such cluster is one of values around citizenship, or teaching the democratic ethic. Here the aim is for the students to learn American values and inquire into the prophecies relevant to the maintainance of these values. Such topics as civil liberties, political tolerance, the place of civil disobedience, and in general the relationship between the individual and the government are to be explored in this first cluster.

A second important cluster is the processes of conflict and conflict management. At the macro-cosmic level, that is, at the level of institutional interaction of the society, Converse wanted students to learn that conflict is legitimate and that conflicts of interest are not necessarily bad. In fact, one can see the political system as a conflict management device. The political system maintains adherence to certain rules of the game, creates an outer bound of legitimate activity and a peaceful atmosphere within which conflict can take place. Jennings suggested at this point, that the two-party system is one example of a political system built to manage some degree of conflict peacefully. In this cluster, as in the ones that follow, Converse is deliberately trying to rise above the traditional political science curricula, and to look at the fundamental theoretical and conceptual problems. The curriculum that is ordinarily taught can be fit into this outline but the concern here is to rise above that curriculum which is primarily descriptions of the American society and its institutions. In addition to looking at fundamental and theoretical problems, we would also want to look at the specific institutional means that exist for putting these concepts into practice, both in the American and comparative social and political systems.

A third major cluster of concepts centers on problems of power and authority. Converse was concerned here with avoiding the mythical notion that power is only bad; and teaching that this fact of social life can be good and

can be used for morally worthwhile ends. The two most crucial issues of power and authority appeared to be: 1) the relevance of power to the achievement of social goals, or the process by which individuals and collectivities organize to get power and exert power on other elements of the society in order to achieve certain self-interested goals.

A fourth cluster is status systems, and a look at authority and interpersonal relations in status systems and their pathologies. To extend status systems, we might also review formal organizations, both from a political and sociological point of view, and role formation and role sharing in democratic micro and macro systems. In addition to role interaction, we might also look at communication patterns, power distributions, and levels of satisfaction and productivity in formal organizations.

A fifth major area is that of representation systems, or the means which permit masses to communicate their wishes to an elite.

The concepts of the sixth cluster are those relevant to personal self-interest and the extension of self to membership in, and identification with, groups and collectivities. In this regard students might consider their levels of identification with local, regional, national, and international political units. Converse's major concern here was to counter some of the self-defeating aspects of self-interest, and to teach that sometimes self-interest may in fact, be enhanced by identification with broader collectivities. The whole topic of nationalism could be examined.

A seventh cluster is that of persuasion and influence at the macro-cosmic level. In this area we might look at the way in which political and social institutions exert power and leverage on one another, in the attempt to get things done.

Converse suggested an eighth cluster, teaching about the philosophy of science. He felt that it was important to train young people to distinguish value from fact and both from inferences.

A ninth group is that of change and rates of change. The major point is that the structural systems we utilize in this country at this time are appropriate and relevant to this country at this time but may not be relevant to other countries, or even to this country at another time. Current forms and institutional arrangements change and we need to build into our society a way of preparing for such changes. For example, in doing a unit on change, take the constitution as basic data and look at the different ways the Constitution

has been applied and interpreted over time. Another example, study the changing role and situation of the old people as a function of the change in the state of society, the changing population, and the nature of the family unit. We now have more old people, and a larger percentage of the population is increasingly estranged from their generational families and from meaningful employment in work. Therefore, our nation needs and students need to learn to think about new solutions and new ways of dealing with old people since their situation has changed so dramatically.

The tenth, and last cluster, suggested by Converse is a critical look at the role of social accident. For instance, there are many unseen consequences of certain social arrangements and social structure, and a lot of "slippage" of information in communication and intentions. There is a lot of ignorance and a lot of things we don't know about the proper way to organize social structures to carry out certain kinds of intention. The Depression, for instance, is an example of an unforeseen consequence of certain kinds of social policy and social structure. In such a discussion students could learn about alternative views of causality and deal with some of the very simple and complex explanations for social events.

In most of the areas above we assume certain ends of political systems. In all these areas, certain kinds of means or institutions are established to deal with these ends. The typical course is now organized within an institutional framework and looks at certain forms; Converse is suggesting that we rearrange this to look at certain and fundamental processes and then proceed to the kinds of institutions that may relate to these. The purpose would be to understand the basic needs and social principles that underly some institutional forms. For instance, instead of teaching a unit on the United Nations, the United Nations could be integrated partly into the section on representation systems, partly into the section on conflict management systems, and partly into the section that deals with the extension of self to broader collectivities.

Jennings suggested that we think seriously about comparative analysis in the teachings of these concepts and phenomena. Too often, democratic values end up meaning naive loyalty to the current American state of affairs. It may well be that our current forms are not the best for everyone and particularly not for different nations who are at different developmental levels. This naive and chauvinistic value position is an important reason that Jennings wants to stress the comparative international historical and cross level approach to

some of these phenomena. In teaching comparatively, Jennings suggested that we start at the local student government or local community level and gradually proceed to national and international examples. We might want to look at some extreme comparatives but more probably at several points on a continuum. Marich suggested that one way of looking at comparative systems might be to compare the American and communist systems. Jennings felt that this was particularly confusing since by communist we mean not only the political but certain economic forms as well. Most materials that are presently being used in communist courses in states throughout the nation are really an attempt to create a value position of anti-communism. The goal does not seem to be the creation of a sophisticated and scientific understanding of the nature of those political and economic systems. Comparative analysis should be taught with the use of films and many concrete examples to help in making these other cultures real. Moreover, the teacher can take a certain social process and look at the form it takes across cultures. Therefore, one would not teach a unit on France, but would study clusters of concepts such as the ten we have just outlined and included in our study some notion of the form and means that are used in France as well as in the United States. Another reason why the comparative approach is so important is that it is a fundamental tool for the political behavioral sciences, and therefore, students ought to learn it. Marich suggested, and the consultants agreed, that teachers are probably not yet prepared to teach in this manner.

Another major goal suggested is for students to become proficient in distinguishing between fact and policy. If students' values are clear, policies can be tested to see if they really represent or fulfill these values. This is also true about value orientations that are means values or values about processes as opposed to ends values or goals, because means values can be tested too, and we can look at the consequences of those means to see if the ends are congruent with the values of the means. Another principle relevant to scientific inquiry is the principle of multiple consequences. An act has many effects and our effects of maximizing one consequence leads to a bunch of side effects and many other consequences. One example of this is the history of the concept of freedom which is really the story of certain kinds of infringements and effects progressive restrictions being made on some peoples' freedom which have the side effects of opening up freedom for other people, and vice versa. For instance, restricting the free choice of store owners and restaurant owners

actually opens up new kinds of rights and privileges for a vast number of other people. This helps us understand why the democratic process is a process of compromise not just in name, but in actuality. The constant tension in resolution of the maximizing efforts of different people is designed to create not a zero sum or win/lose situation, but a situation where everyone in this system gets a little bit of the goodies.

Converse suggested that another important area to him was the tendency of people to see social situations as zero sum situations where they could, in fact, be seen otherwise. People who look at things with short run perspectives, and the further away these situations are from one self, the more likely they are to stereotype, to minimize alternatives, and to see situations as a zero sum. A person who is dealing with something closer to him, is more intimately involved in a complex social or political situation is more likely to understand all the nuances and side effects. The negotiator rather than the masses, for instance, sees intergroup something other than a zero sum or win/lose situation. The example that Converse used is American attitudes toward foreign policy and foreign aid. The American public views anything that anyone else gets or anything that anyone else gains as a loss to ourselves. It is hard for us to see both ourselves and our "enemies" gaining from any situation. This is a perfect example of how a positive sum game is interpreted as a zero sum game.

Lippitt suggested that part of a unit might look at freedom, responsibility and compromise; and particularly at the meaning of compromise across culture. He noted that Americans react poorly to compromise situations, going in with the feeling that we are the "underdogs" and that we are going to get cheated. We feel beaten in any kind of a compromise, whereas the British are satisfied with much less in a compromise situation.

There are several teaching methods which may be used to illustrate and work on any of these content areas. The first is simulation, which may be a way of increasing the reality content of macro-cosmic phenomena. Harold Jacobson and David Singer of the political science department here may be using this. Some schools utilize a model U.N. but most are pretty ineffective. In doing such a model, or in modeling a bargaining situation, it works best with individuals taking the role of decision makers and negotiators, and acting as they might act. An important corrolary is to have available skill resource people who will reflect back to these actors how well they stayed in those roles and how appropriate their behaviors were.

A second method is field work, whereby students go out and actually experience or record other peoples experiences in community political processes. For instance, students could go out and get community reaction to controversial topics. Marich reported that he had his students do some interviewing in the community. Furthermore, on Election Day his students worked in the local precincts. One of the results is not only that they learn about politics, but many have changed some of their attitudes about politics.

A third approach is the case study of method, whereby one takes a write-up of an event or phenomena and inquires as to what that tells us about political principles. For instance, Jennings suggested we take the Little Rock Story and study it to find out about federal and state relations, education, separation of power, civil rights, and the like. One can, in fact, build a course surrounding a series of case studies rather than the usual traditional text book methods.

A fourth major method could be to bring informants who can be interviewed in class and who are experienced resource people in certain areas.

A fifth method is to work directly with the student government council in teaching them social science. Marich reported that Don Weaver at the Kalamazoo lab school had a social science class made up of only those students who had been just elected to the student government council. The general idea of this class is to train these student council leaders to be more effective in their roles.

Another alternative closely connected here would be to explore the feelings of some of the students in the school about student government elections, roles, and policies. Perhaps the Kalamazoo students have some reactions to this elite class of social scientists.

A sixth method is utilizing already prepared resource materials and texts. Marich felt strongly that contemporary texts that are available are really pretty inadequate.

Lippitt raised the question of the possibility of integrating some of the subject matter from history into our discussion of political science. One suggested way of doing this was in our prior discussion of the processes of development and rates of change of institutions. This might get us into looking at some historical data and processes. A second suggestion for doing this was to extend our earlier discussion of comparative work by not only doing cross culture comparatives in the present, but also doing cross temporal comparatives.

This could be accomplished by looking at a certain institution or a certain fundamental process now and how it was accomplished or established in this country one hundred or two hundred years ago. The teacher might also focus on how other countries of different developmental stages are handling certain of these same processes now. Converse suggested a focus on a political science principle, such as the size of governmental units, and a review of the way that they change according to time and space limitations. This might get us into looking at the historical impact of transportation and communication upon the size of governmental units. Now, for instance, New York is closer to Los Angeles than it was to Philadelphia two hundred years ago. Developments in the transportation and communication have made certain kinds of political organizations change and be able, in fact, to grow larger. There is presently a new movement within history itself to look at quantitative and behavioral science methodologies. Converse suggested that Lee Benson will be here this summer for an SRC seminar. Benson is a leader in a new movement among historians and might be interested in spending some time talking with us. In general, the strategic importance of history is relevant to us because history currently holds a balance of power in the organization and teaching of social science and social studies courses. If we are to be able, in any realistic way, to gain entrance to school systems for curricula re-organization, we must be able to deal with the entrenchments of historical interest in the curricula.

Converse suggested that many new tools and methods are being utilized in political science now. One of these new tools is mathematical models and computer systems. These will provide in the years to come some very exciting new areas of knowledge. A second major tool and frontier area are the new systems of information and storage and retrieval, which will permit us to retrieve data much more quickly. A third major area that Jennings suggested was comparative and longitudinal approaches to the study of change over time and space. A fourth major new area is that of political socialization by which we mean the training of young people in cognitive views of political process, in values about political ends, and in skills in applying and working political with activities. A fifth major area is systems theory and the relationship between macro-cosmic social and political processes. A sixth major area is research on the aggregation of interests, and the joining of individual people into social collectivities. Relevant here are the kinds of coalition formation and resource consolidations that occur as a side effect of this process of aggregating individual efforts.

Several studies are now being done in the area of community decision making and community power structures that are relevant to this new development. Closely related to this is a seventh area of increasing research on the centralization of power and the meaning of centralization and federalization of power for independent sectors of the policy and the economy. An eighth major new area is that of the behavioral and quantitative study of alienation, and some reflection upon its functions and dysfunctions in social life. Converse suggested that most of the areas we talked about are not so much new areas as old areas that are being re-studied with new tools and new methods.

SESSION 10

ECONOMIC I

The consultants, Professors Herrick and Morgan, were informed at the beginning that our team's concentration was on the micro-social sciences, but that we wanted to have some experience with the more macrologic disciplines. Morgan responded by noting that economics was both a micro and a macro science. He personally was more interested in the micro aspects of economics, particularly pertaining to behavioral economics and consumer economics. Macroeconomics, according to Morgan, is mostly concerned with large scale national issues such as wage policy, price policy, and time series analyses of economic and industrial growth. This broad conceptual pattern of looking at the industrial and economic picture, he feels, is well handled and a great many economists are paying attention to it. This is one of the reasons why he is more interested in micro and consumer aspects of economics. Micro economics involves subjects that are just as conceptually complicated as macro economics, but in addition they run into important vested interests and a large number of popular American myths.

What are some of the concepts, rules or organizing principles of micro economics? Morgan suggested that we start with the concept of opportunity costs; which states that the real economic cost of an item or a policy is the next best thing that you give up in order to get this one. At the macro level accessing opportunities costs would be a decision, for instance, between guns and butter. At the micro level it might be a decision between a car and a long vacation. The cost of doing something is the cost of not doing another thing. All the issues of time installment buying and time discount are relevant and important in micro or consumer economics. Morgan explained the rule of 72, which said that in order to understand how long it takes for a thing to double you divide the percent increase into 72. For instance, if an investment doubles in 18 years it means you're making four per cent interest. Ten per cent interest means your original investment would double in a little over seven years. This rule is not only applicable to money investment but also to something like population growth. The population is growing at three per cent a year; it will double in approximately twenty four years. Another procedure in learning consumer economics would be to look at the means for maximizing household satisfaction.

Some other kinds of issues might be income distribution, the way income is spent, taxes, insurance, interest and interest rates, housing and mortgage, credit, investments, governmental activity, family budgeting and finance, health and medical costs. Samuelson was suggested as a major reference work, which is, however, stronger on macro than on micro areas.

Herrick reported the findings of a survey he is involved in, suggesting that very few schools now require a course in economics at the senior high level but that close to eighty per cent of the schools are considering requiring such a course. Herrick noted his concern that there are few appropriate materials available for high school students and that there are relatively few teachers who are prepared to teach economics. Certainly neither of these exist in sufficient quantities should these eighty per cent of the school systems decide that they are going to require a course. Rand McNally has just published a book appropriate for ninth graders, Economics for American Living. The twin issues in preparing high school students seem to be teaching material in a way that is accurate, and teaching it so that it is really covered. The conceptual difficulties involved in these materials make it hard for it to be taught soundly, and the vested interests and normative issues involved make it difficult to deal with sensitive issues reasonably, fairly and openly. As an example, it should be pointed out that not only are there two dozen forms of life insurance, but as each year goes by a man needs less life insurance. The second statement is much blunter than the first, much more sensitive than the first, but just as true.

The kind of material Morgan and Herrick have been talking about is relevant for the pre-college student, but perhaps even more relevant for the drop-out who will more quickly move into those areas of life where this kind of knowledge is necessary and useful. There are a number of exercises that could be built to aid the teaching of consumer economics. Critical incidents could be developed that would utilize a student's own experience, own spending patterns, and financial resources. In Ann Arbor driver education courses, the students are asked to sit down and figure out the average daily cost of owning a car. The buying price, insurance, gas, oil, repairs, and depreciation on a car, for instance, all add up to the cost of owning a car. As these materials are taught in high school they ought to be related to geography and history and civics courses. One exercise that Morgan developed for his students was to ask them to go out to a used car salesman and inquire about the price of a car.

Students typically find that after they hem and haw for a couple of minutes the salesman discovers an algebraic mistake in his figuring and reduces the price of the car by a hundred dollars. The first time this happens the students are surprised but by the third or fourth time they begin to understand something about the workings of the market system. As another example, Herrick suggested informing students how the school budget is determined and how some of the services they have or do not have are mediated by school milage elections, property taxes and political events. Moreover, it is clear that they can, if they want to, influence the course of these events. From Herrick's point of view this material should be integrated with other materials throughout the entire grade range. He suggested taking an era, an event or an issue and looking at it with all the knowledge the participants can offer. For instance American history has its economic, as well as historical, political, and sociological aspects. Health, currently has its economic, as well as medical, biological, sociological and psychological aspects. One of the problems Herrick noted was that teachers are allowed to teach economics with minimal collegiate training in that field. Given such problems in the certification for economics, most teachers don't get much training in economics, but they're consistently teaching it under the guise of other courses. This consistently creates a problem in adequate preparation and instruction.

One of the key issues that Morgan thought was important to explain, with plenty of examples, was national fiscal policy. This is a hot issue, a controversial one and a real one. National fiscal policy is a crucial issue that all citizens ought to understand in order to make personal and public decisions appropriately. Starting in this area of macro economics is conceptually very important for students to understand, and is exciting and could be related immediately to things that are going on. These phenomena affect individual and consumer economic decisions, such as can they afford a house, can they afford to get married, and how do they plan their budget? It also determines what kind of risks they can take with regard to investments, automobile insurance, life insurance policy and medical risks. The whole area of risks and protections from risks is another important one to investigate.

Balance of payments and discussions of gold policy are examples of macro policy issues that are important to deal with. Income rate and distribution, budget planning and opportunity cost issues and risk issues are three major problems to deal with. The entire problem of economic equity and

distribution of economic resources can also be considered. Examination, for instance, of the distribution of federal welfare funds between a place like Ann Arbor and a place like Central City Detroit or areas in Mississippi might be investigated with a view towards understanding the range and distribution of economic resources in the nation. It may also help explain why property taxes and school taxes are higher in Ann Arbor than in other places, and why in some places a state pays a larger portion of the school budget.

Morgan suggested a procedure whereby we might use and review the Samuelson elementary text book. Starting from the basic principles and concepts he discusses we could design field experiences and experiments that students can conduct. Using these experiences might help them to understand Samuelson's concepts. Morgan illustrated this by suggesting that from Samuelson's basic notion of opportunity cost we can derive ways of allocating resources in order to gain maximum utilization of the kinds of resources one has. Using this reasoning a student can understand that one of the major costs in owning a house is the amount of money you are not making on investments, if you could put your money into investments rather than a house. Morgan also suggested we take a look at what he calls the fallacy of composition. At the macro level, the fallacy of composition is illustrated by the fact that if everyone saves more money, the economy will collapse. What is good for one person is not necessarily good for everyone, because everyone ends up bankrupt. Further, Morgan mentioned time-discounting, which illustrates that things are not necessarily worth the same amount at different points of time. Control of resources is important to people because they can sometimes add to or multiply their resources. If you are willing to give up control of your own resources for some period of time, you can get interest on those resources and increase them.

Herrick mentioned the problem of deciding at what age levels different economic concepts and principles can be effectively taught to young children. Herrick suggested the following list of major problem areas, within each area of which one could choose a number of concepts to deal with substantively, specifically, and experimentally: scarcity; economic systems -- such as communism, socialism, capitalism; utilization of resources, growth and stability; banking and monetary systems, economics of under developed areas. These six are currently getting a lot of attention but he suggested some others that are not getting so much attention in the high schools nowadays: business and industry; the role of government; international trade; markets; national income; labor and wages;

agriculture; economic security; and personal finance. Most of the concepts on this list are macro areas of concern. In order to deal importantly and effectively with the basically temporal relevance of some of these issues, Morgan suggested that we need to emphasize the basic theoretic problems underlying them and to stress the ability of the student to analyze contemporary events in terms of these basic theoretical systems.

Herrick and Morgan specified a five stage sequence of acts in the analytic process. The first stage is to identify a problem; the second stage is to investigate it, to read material, make an experiment, gather data, gain experience. The third step is to share data and to analyze it; the fourth step is to write alternative causes and solutions along with criteria and the fifth stage is to apply these causative notions or solutions to the individual problem and test out analytical abilities. An important step in this process, of course, is identifying the criteria by which you select an appropriate and relevant problem. In other words, these consultants are suggesting that we identify some major theoretical concepts and develop these concepts through this problem solving process into young people's understandings of economic curriculum and events.

Five steps that Herrick is going through in the development of his organization is first; the establishing the most important content; second, making priorities amongst this content; third, connecting these priorities with the current curriculum; fourth, embarking upon a program of teacher education; and fifth, preparing appropriate material and references for teachers and students to use. Morgan suggested that in teacher education we may not have to think about making all teachers competent in economics, but may settle for teaching teachers how to teach certain selected concepts. There is a wide difference between teaching teachers how to handle certain areas effectively and training them to be economists. The latter may be an unrealistic desire for us. Herrick described some teacher training institutes he had held which lasted anywhere from several days to several weeks. Large clusters of these concepts are dealt with in some detail, as well as teaching methodology relevant for these concepts. Another important concern here is the ideological bias or controversial bias in many of these economic areas. Herrick attempts to solve this problem by having people from many different kinds of institutions, representing different policy positions present the material around each concept. This does not, however, answer the question of what the teacher does with it when he gets into

the classroom.

Courses in budgeting or family economics are usually not taught in college and certainly not taught in high school. Herrick reported that most people he talks with in his attempt to spread the teaching of economic courses in high schools suggest that the legitimate kinds of economics that needs to be taught is macro economics (for this he uses Heilbroner's new book). At the same time people say that individuals pick up micro economics, and therefore, there is no need to teach it to them. Herrick's own position is that people don't pick it up, and people walk around with a great deal of mis-information and misunderstanding about such things as financing, insurance, mortgaging, etc. In many ways both Morgan and Herrick are suggesting that consumer economics or micro economics are generally not considered legitimate by economists and academicians. There is a great need in this area for new kinds of materials that are technically and conceptually correct and still reasoned and well balanced in their presentation. Morgan cited one example of high school teaching of consumer economics where the professor sent the students out into the field to sample the prices of a number of staple goods, over a several week period students discovered that the price of bacon varied twenty cents. The teacher used this price range in bacon to teach the students something about the laws of supply and demand, and the ways in which the stores offer inducements to housewives to shop at certain times of the month for certain products. Herrick noted that he is currently publicizing for the first three grades materials that Senesh has done for SRA, and for the fourth and fifth grades materials from Chicago's Industrial Relation Center. There are also a number of audio-visual aids. Some of the problems in teacher preparation and teacher preparation deficiency can be dealt with by utilizing team teaching patterns and teacher exchanges.

LESSON 11

ECONOMICS II

Professors Fusfeld and Boulding acted as consultants. Boulding stated that, at least in the lower grades, economics should be integrated into other subject matter. Fusfeld felt that the starting point was in terms of what the teachers were presently capable of doing rather than re-educating them. He stated that this would mean that economics could be brought into such areas as American history, modern history, by looking at comparisons of different systems, and a study of contemporary economic problems such as currently are part of civics courses. Economics could be brought in on an ad hoc basis when there were opportunities to develop some economic insights.

Fusfeld went on to suggest a second approach to be taken. This would be an approach of looking at the basic understandings that a contemporary individual ought to know about. He noted that there are two really basic concepts in economics that are fundamental to all the others. One of these is the concept of equilibrium or the balance of conflicting forces. This involves looking at the relationship of forces and how they are brought into some kind of balance. Demand and supply on the market leading to a price is an example. The second concept is concept of growth and change. This involves looking at the forces and conflicts that lead to expansion and change.

In both of these concepts there are institutional factors involved, including what the economist would call market system and this would include the whole complex of consumers, business firms, financial institutions, another factor as a set of attitudes for motivational patterns. Boulding noted that the major hurdle here involves getting from an approach which simply looks at such things as, what mother does when she goes to the store, to a point where there is some understanding of the concepts of the economic system as a whole. Most of the fallacies in economic thinking arise from generalizing from personal experience. One of the most important things to do, at the high school level, would be to get people away from generalizing from personal experience. Personal experience is "a very imperfect sample". Looking at and relating to personal experience is a good place to start from but it should be noted that the problem just mentioned needs to be overcome. Therefore, the goal of education in Economics can be seen as moving the individual away from this small scale

personalized experience to an understanding of what the whole complex world is like.

Fusfeld put it in terms of there being a need to develop a theoretical, intellectual understanding. This would involve getting a conceptual framework which could handle a number of phenomena and the relationships. This can be thought of as a construction within which a lot of phenomena can fit. Whatever the procedures used, they must lead to the development of the students' awareness of a scheme of things that relate. The advantage of doing this in a civics or a history course would be that this kind of thing is seen in relationship to the environment. The theoretical scheme all by itself doesn't "catch". One approach to getting across these basic concepts would be that of a cross-cultural exploration. It is possible to analyze attitudes and motivations cross-culturally. This would illustrate the application of these principles to a variety of social sciences.

Boulding noted that the social sciences are coming to be more and more integrated and less and less distinguishable. He noted further that the central differentiating phenomena of economics is that of exchange. This gets you into markets, price systems, money. This also begins to move you beyond economics. Sociology is increasingly looking at informal change. Parsons does this. There is exchange even within the family. This can move into looking at the phenomena of conflict. Conflict theory runs all across the social sciences as does decision making and decision theory. One other phenomena that runs throughout all areas is organization theory. Alfred Kuhn of the University of Cincinnati has a book out that integrates social sciences on the basis of such underlying concepts. One way to explore these concepts introducing a level of sophistication would be to develop a course in applied social mathematics. There is apparently resistance to such an approach amongst the historical orientations toward social science.

Fusfeld felt that economics could be taught in a manner that would appeal to low income groups. He suggested that this would be true around the phenomena of poverty, race relations, or perhaps sex. One could explore the economics, the sociology and the psychology of the race problem for example. Another topic could be problems of urbanization. One could include such things as are discussed in the books of Myrdal or Silverman.

Fusfeld felt that much of the consumer economics taught today is weak and not very useful. He thought there is too much emphasis on this aspect and

suggested that the best way for children to learn economics is through practical experience. Boulding agreed that consumer economics is not very well taught but felt that it might be a good starting place through being so intimately involved in peoples' lives. Whether consumer economics or practical experience was used as the jumping off point he suggested that both could center around the family and household so that students could become aware of the social system and yet develop systematic analysis.

Another kind of concept that is important is that of quantitative sense. A sense of what are quantities of a social system. For example, a sense of what is a million acres, or a million dollars, or other quantities. It was noted that Boulding suggested that geography could be made one of the major basis of the social sciences. He felt that this could be very good in the high school, although it currently is not. It could be the whole idea of organizing the social system around a special relationship. One could give a statistical geographical historical background on this. The goal would be to give them some kind of sense of what they (the student) are really sampling.

Fusfeld noted that it seems that, as our society gets more complex technologically and larger in size and scope, and more integrated within itself, the proportion of people who can get on the success path and stay on it is becoming more and more limited. More and more ability, intelligence, and training are needed to be successful. At the same time mechanism that reject from success path are operating with greater effectiveness. We generate rejects from our social system. The schools are one of the organizations by which we evaluate the people and produce this rejection. Sometimes it is a rejection mechanism that operates itself and sometimes it is operated by people. From the point of view of the educational process the schools have a problem to develop training programs for both groups. There is a need to bring the rejectees back into the system. Education to that end needs to be provided. The schools have been very good in training along the success paths, but not very good in re-training or training people back into the success path once they have been rejected. A social science course could be devised for the potential rejects so as to minimize the procedure. It was noted that the definition of success in our society as well as the society itself is changing. This would need be taken into account in developing the social science curriculum and dealing with this problem of rejection. Boulding questioned this and noted, for example, that small businesses are increasing. He noted further that as technology moves more people

out of manufacturing, the service industries are increasing. This will mean an increase in the tertiary section of the economy which looks more and more like classical economics. The number of paths to success will increase. He noted that the problem here is the legitimation of these differing paths to success. Boulding felt that our system is going to become more like that of Japan.

The consultants were asked what they would teach to a group of high school aged youth if they had agreed to teach some kind of a unit or course on the social sciences. Boulding's response was as follows. He would have them first write an autobiography and also their own genealogical table for their family. He would then have them look at kinship and the meaning of kinship comparing their genealogical table with a look at the Australian aborigines, the DRA, the Shinto. He would then have them work out their family budgets and look at how income is apportioned. At that point, which would be at the end of perhaps two weeks, he would give his first lecture which would be on allocation in society. It would look at government budget making, the council of economic advisors, the gross national product, the decline of agriculture, the development of the war industry. This would involve value implications. There would need to be a look at how the situation actually is as well as valuative reactions to it. He would stress the fun of finding out "what is". There would also be an evaluative look at, "is this budget a wise one?" They would then get into looking at how government achieves consensus. They would look at meetings and the decision making process. They would perhaps go to watch a city council meeting. The question of how this group makes decisions would be looked at. They would also look at how the principal of their school, a business man, and others make decisions. They would look at what information is and how it affects the decision making. They would look at how it is communicated. There would be a look at conflict and its meaning and usefulness at this process.

Fusfeld felt he would wind up with much the same kind of information by a somewhat different route. He would start out by having a matrix for the teacher to refer to. This matrix could be thought of as containing the subjects that the teacher should cover. Along the top of the matrix would be the basic processes including such things as organizations, motivation, decision making, conflict, exchange, and information. On the other side of the matrix you would have the basic concepts of social sciences. These would include such things as the economic concepts of marketing, equilibrium, economic growth, and various sociological and psychological concepts. Their matrix would then relate all

these things systematically. Fusfeld would then start out in the first few days by having the students read the daily newspapers. From this they would decide on a series of events that they found relevant and interesting. They would pick one or two on the basis of having reached the consensus. They would discuss what it is about the topic that interests them and work out questions from their discussion. They would then spend time seeking to find out as much as they possibly could in response to these questions about the topic by going to the libraries. They would come back and discuss one aspect of the topics. They would try to bring out what facts, differences of opinions, view points, and fundamental social processes are involved in this aspect of the topic. They would then raise further questions about these and go through the process of studying to try and bring out more information about these processes and concepts. The teacher would seek to focus on as many as possible of the processes and basic concepts in their matrix in this manner. The teacher's job is to make as many of these processes and concepts as explicit as he possibly can. To sum up then, there are three parts to this approach. The teacher uses the matrix as a check list. There is an immediacy of confrontation material. There is self study and exploration by the youth. A major need in taking this approach is for consultation and resources to be available to the teacher.

SESSION 12

TEACHING AND LEARNING

Professors Erikson and Koen acted as consultants.

Professor Erikson suggested that an important focus of a social science course should be to present some models of man's alternatives to the prevailing models presented by Freudian and other psycho-analytic theories. The Freudian model adopted by Hollywood and the mass media needs to be seen in context as one of several models of man and needs to be contrasted with a learning theory model of development, mental health, neurosis, and the like. Erikson explicitly suggested that formal and traditional learning theories not be a part of this social science course. Formal learning theories might better be included as part of a biology course, or a general science course. Koen agreed with this, suggesting that a social science course should focus on the cognitive aspects of human learning and behavior, especially as opposed to the libido or pleasure seeking aspects of development proposed in the Freudian model. One important implication of this approach is that the variables that determine and condition behavior are considered to be available for analysis. They are not necessarily hidden or completely unconscious; many of them are observable and can be manipulated.

Although traditional learning theory is not an appropriate subject matter for a social science course, Erikson thought that it was important that young people understand something about reinforcement, reinforcement theory, and some basic principles of behavioral analysis. Some time needs to be spent on exploring assumptions about the biological nature of human behavior and human experience. That is, the conditioners of human behavior prior to societal and social psychological influences.

Erikson suggested that a very important topic in teaching social science to young people was the comparison of Darwinian social learning and evolutionary theories of human growth and development, and Freudian theory. In fact, he suggested he would spend the first fifth of the semester in making this comparison. Koen felt it was important in looking at man's behavior to review the commonalities and differences along the phylo-genetic scale. In addition to the biological commonalities and differences, he would review the change in conditions for optimal learning as we move along the evolutionary

scale. For instance, reinforcement and the empirical law of effect are concepts that are common to learning all along the phylo-genetic scale. On the other hand, one of the things that distinguishes man from the rest of the phylo-genetic is language. Therefore, it makes good sense to look at those learning procedures and conditions that are particularly fruitful in aiding language learning. One could look, for instance, at the different means of communication in bees, ants, birds, dogs, fish and man. The languages or communication systems that animals use are innate, whereas, the communication systems and languages that man uses are learned. This important distinction helps us understand progress along the phylo-genetic scale. One of the useful issues in looking at language and language learning in the high schools is that, as Cohen suggests, young people are inherently interested in and curious about language. Specific verbal symbols and language may be seen and studied as part of a broader range of communicative acts.

An important and embracing concept that must be dealt with is psychological or behavioral determinism. That is, that behavior is a condition of certain internal and external variables that are operating. This is a priority concept to get across. Erikson emphasized the controversial nature of this principle by suggesting that clear and concise teaching of this principle almost necessitates religious and parental confrontation of the teacher.

Erikson noted that to teach social science as opposed to social philosophy or social studies the student needs a good firm behavioral base. He would make sure that students know how to use concepts such as reinforcement, association, contiguity, and response frequency. With these kinds of concepts firmly in their minds they would be able to practice the rational-experimental process of behavioral sciences. Students should be able to move above operationalization. Koen felt it was important in this context to stress the idea that psychology is a science and not merely a philosophical approach to human experience.

One suggestion for organizing a course was made by Erikson. He reflected upon a senior honors course in psychology he taught at Vanderbilt. The course started with seniors stating the ten criteria they would establish for personal success in life. After establishing these criteria they were asked to think about what psychology had to offer and what light psychology could shed on any of these criteria. Another related suggestion he made was for students to think about ten great ideas psychology had that were important to them. Each week they

took one of these ideas and talked about its meaning for them and its relevance for the kinds of criteria they had established for their life. As an illustration he suggested a concept such as the standard error of measurement, which when discussed at the last part of the semester put the issues of personal humility and relative uncertainty of the future into bold relief. Erikson's experience in this course is reported in the American Psychologist somewhere between 1955 and 1960.

Erikson further suggested that our consultation procedure in the future focus not on what should be taught, but on what kinds of behavioral outcomes we should look for in high school students who have been exposed to courses in the social sciences. How should the high school student who has taken this course behave differently from other high school students? This matter of specification of our behavioral objectives could then be operationalized into specific content and methodology. For example, Erikson said that he himself thought it crucial that high school students and graduates understand something about prejudice and the dynamics of prejudice; that they understand something about mental health concepts and its development; that they understand something about group behavior and the development of group norms. People who are going to live as members of groups, who are going to be influenced by groups, and who in turn are going to exert influence on groups need to understand something about the internal dynamics and the external relationships between organized chaos and cosmos.

Marich inquired as to whether the goals and behavioral outcomes of a course would be decided upon in advance by the instructor and consultants or whether they could in part be derived from group inquiry in the classroom. Erikson responded that a lot of the work in group inquiry and group process is an inefficient use of classroom time. Some of it, of course, is useful in developing group standards and attitudes in the classroom. Koen suggested that one of the ways to deal with students' resistance to talking about and examining prejudice is to look at it dispassionately and to view the phenomenon of prejudice without making evaluations. An inquiry into the circumstances under which people learn prejudice may be most interesting to high school seniors. Such procedure dramatizes the difference between a psychologist and a minister or teacher who is trying to make a good citizen. The psychologist is not trying to make a good citizen; he is interested in studying the phenomenon. This is Koen's major theme: that we can pick up any concept or phenomenon and ask

ourselves this question: What are the variables that produce or influence this phenomenon?

Erikson noted that there was so much to do in terms of introducing new social science curriculum, that he would prefer to squeeze history almost completely out of the curriculum right now. An alternative may be to change the way history is handled and look at some of the psychological variables involved in historical events and some of the psychological and historical views of contemporary personal and social phenomena. One fruitful approach to history that Koen suggested was to look at the cultural traits and ethos of a nation and a people. In this procedure we can manage the wedding of social science or psychology and history.

Koen summarized much of his concern with learning and verbal learning as a focus for the course by noting that everything humans do is learned. Therefore, to study human behavior it is fruitful to look at those conditions which optimize learning. Koen suggested that we should speak of historical events in psychological terminology and use a psychological level of analysis. For instance, take the disturbance in Little Rock, Arkansas, one may see it as the rebellion of a political sub-unit against the expressed will of the larger unit.

New Frontiers

A major new frontier for Koen is the area of psycholinguistics. This is the area in which he himself is doing research, and he is interested in the way in which people use language and the different kinds of things language means to different groups of individuals. He is currently interested in the interaction between language and all other forms of human behavior. Erikson stated that his major concern would be imagining the state of things twenty years from now. The state of race relations as a major problem in this country, our international relations, social class relationships, problems of poverty, and in general our relations with people of lower social status within the nation, are all major areas of social science inquiry that must be explored.

SESSION 13
THE SCHOOL: A SOCIAL SETTING

Our consultants for today's session are Professors Angell and Withey.

Angell started our session by saying that he had looked at the table of contents of an Introductory Sociology text and tried to decide what kinds of things among this list a high school person should know. He had eight suggestions. (1) The student should understand that an institution, and in particular the school as an institution, is part of a larger cultural field. The curriculum he takes, the manner of course organization, and the values embodied in the courses are part of the American context. Therefore, the curriculum should fit the child's ability and yet train him to look for certain social goals and needs. One of the ways of highlighting this conceptual problem may be to look comparatively at schools in different cultures or sub-cultures. (2) The student should be acquainted with the process of socialization and training for the adult community. What is the role of the school in the socialization process? And how does the school collaborate with other institutions, primary groups, family, and the economy in the socialization process? (3) The student should see types of differentiation especially between people. In the school one can see this in terms of regional, social class, age, intelligence, and academic and occupational differences. One can also look at the individual differences among pupils in the class as well as at these social categories. (4) He should be acquainted with the issues of life in an urban technological society. We are no longer a rural, agricultural, simple society in most parts of the country and students need some acquaintance with the major issues and problems of the urban, technical society. The adolescent issues of anomie, school drop-outs, delinquency, and complexity in modern life are all related to this. (5) Students should be helped to understand the issues of bureaucracies, a highly organized form in contemporary society. The school can be taken as one example of a bureaucracy with its unique role of differentiation and of role expectations. Teacher-pupil relationships can be viewed as one example of mutual and reciprocal role relations and expectations. Students expect the teacher to behave in certain ways and the teacher expects the student to behave in certain ways. To the degree that the mutuality of their behaviors are congruent with their expectations they will be able to deal with one another more smoothly. (6)

Another topic would be to look at the purpose of schools, education and vocations. Angell noted that most of his students see the purpose of schooling, even college schooling, in psychological terms. They see the purpose as helping them to get along, or grow, or to make a good life. An important issue, he thought, was to help them to see the role of school as educating in a sociological sense. The purpose of schooling is to train the students to perform certain roles in the society and to fulfill certain needed skills and abilities. (7) Students should examine the whole area of citizenship, government and political responsibility to help them understand some of their political roles as mature adults. (8) Students should read and understand the excellent book by Coleman on the Adolescent Society, Angell suggested that students study this book, become familiar with it and try to figure out where they fit in the kind of high school and society that Coleman describes.

Withey felt it was difficult to deal directly with the vague nature of our original question, i.e., What would you teach? He felt that it was important to settle upon some frame of reference from which to approach social science. There are essentially five basic models which may serve as reference points for the social sciences, mathematical, physical, biological, ecological, and cultural. Withey suggested that one could start with the physical model, which is the simplest, and then move through psychology to the social sciences. However, he thinks for the present discussion the ecological beginning point is the best. One can look at certain elements of topological ecology, such as deserts, mountains and geographic differences and move towards elements of social ecology. To see social relationships as problems in ecology might mean asking such questions as: Is it easier to learn when you're all of the same age or a different age? What difference would it make whether your teacher is old or young? What difference does it make if you spent six or twelve years in school? What difference would it make if your family was twice as big as it is now or if the school were twice as big. Giving social concepts an ecological context may help us identify some of the relationships between variables and some of the differences that different forms of organizations make. The ecological viewpoint easily leads into understanding the cultural position and problems of differentiation. Angell wondered whether the ecological example of how would life be different if you had two fathers might not be too abstract for children to deal with. He also wanted to know how the ecological approach was relevant to and led to culture. Withey suggested that the purpose of the

ecological approach was to understand behavior by understanding the world that a person lives in. Without knowing anything about a person's age or sex what can we say about him, if all we know is that he lives in the desert? There are things that we can say about him from just that knowledge of his ecological environment. Now, if we added some more facts about the ecological surroundings we might know more things about that person. In this kind of exercise we're demonstrating influence of the environment upon the person. We will also want to reverse this and look at some instances where the person influences the environment and finally move to looking at the interaction between the two - which is after all the focus of the social sciences. We talk about moving then from the climate to the culture, to the stored meanings which is the cultural heritage, to the way those meanings influence information handling, and ultimately to the receiving of values and rewards.

Lippitt raised the question of whether the learner is primarily in a passive role in this process and Angell suggested that it did not have to be that way. A student could investigate these concepts as they apply to his school and immediate community.

Both Withey and Angell suggested that students inquiries start somewhere other than commonplace events in their lives. Angell suggested that they are interested in things like heroes and other things in the macrological society beyond themselves. Therefore, we ought to start with something at the national level and not with the self and immediate families. Withey noted that social studies teachers would not be comfortable in this. Nimroff agreed and stated that they would want to know the "fact content" of this. Since Withey suggested that this procedure was very different from what's going on it would be hard for teachers to follow the kinds of leads he has suggested. Angell suggested that in the future more movies would be available as resource documentaries to social science questions.

Angell raised the question of whether or not there should be more disciplinary and more systematic courses in social sciences in the high school. In the junior high there is a great deal of marking time and its quite possible that more material could be pushed into that area. Therefore, students could get to the disciplinary and systematic courses earlier. At the same time people say that anything of a systematic social science nature in high school is a mistake, and that some non-systematic work on life experience problems is needed. There is no resolution to this question except that we did want to

separate the problem of systematic and non-systematic from the problem of disciplinary and inter-disciplinary. Angell raised another concern regarding the possibility that students will get and remember generalizations about phenomena without all the qualifications that attend to any scientific precept or generalization. He is afraid they would readily accept any causal explanation of events without paying attention to the specific conditions under which an event or phenomenon occurs. He said that he would not therefore, not teach social science, but would be wary not to slip into this distortion via either too global or too sophisticated a series of presentations.

We now turned our attention to the possibilities that might exist for using the school as a simple institution or laboratory in which to learn social science. Withey suggested that we might take the Sheriff experiments and recreate them in the classroom. The class might be split up into several groups competing with one another and then finally working together for a common goal. The teacher or researcher could collect data on this experience. A second major possibility is the socialization process itself. One grade, for instance, the fifth or sixth might go and look at the kindergarten and see the size of the play group, or the cross-sex interchanges, and in the process they might learn systematic observation skills. The really crucial step here is that they be instructed in what kinds of things to look for so their observations can be systematic. A third example is role playing that can be used in many ways to collect data, to reproduce situations, to show feelings, to examine some findings and to test out some interpretations of events. A fourth focus might be the student government council itself as a medium for learning about government, political responsibility and power relationships.

Angell wondered whether it was really possible to teach an understanding of the cultural scene to high school students. For instance, how does the student get to understand the cultural meanings and experiences that almost unconsciously intrude upon him and which he eventually internalizes? How does the child realize the impact of continual exposure to certain kinds of norms and experiences? It is almost a question of "what has influenced my development?" It is very hard for students to deal with this question unless they can meet other people around them who have been influenced in different ways. It is difficult to find and observe cultural diversity in a school that maximizes cultural homogeneity. We may see internal variation within a class by getting at class norms and individual differences, but the people within a class are

still externally similar with regard to out of school influences and experiences. Nimroff suggested the possibility that high school students might study the different kinds of courses that people take and relate them to the feeder school and elementary schools or junior high schools that students came from. The crucial issue here is that the basis of comparisons should not be privilege or evaluation, but the different kinds of things that people learn. For instance, Withey mentioned his experience in an introductory psychology class where three different IQ tests were given. One was a general Stanford-Binet verbal test, the second a farm phenomenon test (where a tree is described as a part of a wagon to be correct), and the third, is a delinquent argot kind of a test. Students who score high on one of these intelligent tests did not score high on the others. This points out the cultural relativity of a thing such as intelligence. (Another example of the demonstrated verbal competence of lower class children is the task of "signifying", whereby they use different words, slang terms and epitaphs to describe their mothers. The child who cries first or starts to fight first is the loser. The colloquial name for this game of signifying is "mommy rapping". Angell suggested a type of game that is played in Sicilian communities in Southern Italy, described in a book called The Law. The question is what kinds of things do people from different cultures learn, how are these different kinds of things functional to them, and how do they compare to the kinds of things that other people learn. Lippitt suggested another possibility for teaching cultural relativity and differences, where children might read a book such as Six Cultures, and then take a classroom or family situation and try to examine which child from which culture might best be able to handle this particular social function. What this does is help us look at the different kinds of life experiences between cultures that are functional, rather than trying to evaluate characteristics on a single un-dimensional scale of preference. Another way of fruitfully studying cultural variation in the high school is language. We can take simple words and understand how they feel to us. Withey suggested the word soft. We can think about how it feels to say the word. We can also take some Whorfian examples, such as the fact that eskimos do not have a word for snow, because they have fifty words to describe different kinds of snow. A carpenter will seldom use the word hammer, because he knows there are so many different kinds of hammers he has to be so much more specific in his language. In addition to looking at the frequency and meaning of words, we can also look at the way some people react to language and in this

case the "mommy rapping" example cited earlier may be helpful.

In the school the principle role of the child is that of learner. One can focus then on how do we learn these roles in the school. Not only what are internal predispositions that help us fulfill that role effectively, but what are the ecological sanctions and variables incumbent upon that role? What is the text book organization, curricular determination and teacher posture that help establish a certain kind of role as learner? The problem here is that while logically and formally the principle role the children learn in school is that of the learner, it is also true they learn some other ideas. For instance, students learn quiet, dependent and powerless passive roles. It is not at all clear that learning how to learn is the major task for young people in the schools. However, this could certainly be looked at in an interesting manner.

Another prominent sociological phenomena we can look at in the classroom is that of the function and inter-dependence of roles. We can look at different student and student-teacher roles. With a common task we can see how the students divide up the tasks to be accomplished in order to do it most effectively in a functional manner. The division of labor and roles, might be another example.

In Ann Arbor, there currently seems to be antagonism and mutual disrespect between certain of the junior high schools. This is certainly something that can be studied and dealt with from a social science point of view; and it might be very interesting for high school students to explore. In addition, students may learn some skills in scientific methodology and problem-solving. They could do a survey of all the different junior high schools that fed into a given high school and review the students different expectations as well as their mutual perceptions of one another.

New Frontiers

Withey suggested that the future of the social scientist will be largely looking at organization as a process; not organization as an institution, but as a process of bringing people together. Phenomena such as interaction, inter-dependence and mutual growth will be gaining a lot of attention in social science in the next decade or two. Any secondary school course which we promote ought to be heavily weighed in this direction. To follow this a little further, we could look at some classroom phenomena and see how the teacher organizes work and time or how the students organize teams. In the process of organizing teams, they must select members, allocate responsibility, define a task, and

define their needs. As a result of this they need to look into the issues around independence of roles and the relationship of their roles to certain kinds of social institutions. In the process they must construct organizations within themselves to do certain kinds of tasks. Angell suggested a recent article by Landecker was relevant to this. Too much of a concentration, however, on the process of organization may, according to Angell, involve people in such minutia as to prevent them from seeing the forest of large issues beyond the trees. For instance, how does the school fit into the larger society? How does the organization process that is being managed right now fit into other processes or other institutions in the society? It may be very hard to understand these macro issues working up and outward from the inside.

The second major frontier that Angell himself, is working on is that of conflict and cooperation between groups at the macrological level. Not between individuals, but in the Sheriff and Coleman sense of looking at these phenomena between groups in the society. Angell is particularly interested in this at the national and international levels.

Another major concept that represents a frontier is that of social cross-cutting, whereby, people who have membership in a variety of groups with over-lapping membership tend to be more integrated with one another. This is close of Likert's concept of overlapping linkages of supervisory roles in organizations. On the international level Angell is suggesting that common economic development and water conservation projects among different nations in the Balkans might aid in cross-cutting some of the Western and Eastern block formations.

Angell and Withey raised another question of whether all children should learn the same things, particularly if their goals, styles, and courses through life are and will be different. One of the questions was whether it might be dangerous to bring up this kind of discussion in class because it might make some lower class students particularly vulnerable. Lippitt reported on some research that suggested this is already common knowledge and the children already feel and know where they are going to end up. In fact, it is our collusion to maintain public ignorance about this that is most dangerous. Therefore, the suggestion is that this is something that might be talked about in class and that children who have different goals might publicly discuss the different kinds of learnings that are relevant for them. In this regard they might start to structure their own curricular needs and demand different things from the classroom.

Angell requested that we think about the different kinds of experiments that might be created in class to induce experimentally anomie in students. The hope is that they can see in the classroom some of its destructiveness and some of the positive potential it carries for social creativity.

As a final note Angell wanted to mention that much education goes on outside of the schools and that to focus on just the schools as the only education institution of the nation is an error. Therefore, one of the things we might do is not only look at the different kinds of things different children learn, but the different places from which they learn these lessons.

SESSION 14

THE FAMILY

The subject for this session was the Family, and our consultants were Professors Blood and Marquis.

It was suggested that the age of the students should influence the content selected for a curriculum. Major areas of content that would be important would be sex information and preparation for sibling relationships. Pre-puberty information would be important for the later elementary grades. This might best be done by having the boys and the girls together in the course. It probably would also be best to have the course take place in a normal classroom setting. It would be important for there to be ample opportunity for questions and discussion. At the junior high level, it was suggested, the content should broaden out to have a main concern with social rather than biological factors. There might be a seventh grade unit on dating with both boys and girls in the class. One would want to provide an opportunity for the students to discuss the material and personal problems. It is expected that these might include fear and a sense of inferiority relative to the opposite sex, etiquette, what to do in different situations, degree of intimacy, and the relationship of emotional factors to biological factors. The junior high period was seen as crucial in the social area since it is at this time that the first dating and school parties take place. One might consider this a "teachable moment" in relation to the beginning of heterosexual relationships.

The type of content considered so far raises the question of a climate so that discussion can take place in the classroom. It might be best to have this class take place with both the parents and their children learning together. This would provide for discussion between parents and children. A major goal at this point would seem to be that of opening up the communication between generations. This lack of communication was seen as especially prevalent and important during adolescence. Such things as bedtime and allowance could be a starting point leading to more important factors. The PTA might be the best vehicle for setting up this kind of course. Concepts and theories regarding shifts from dependency in the family to mutual respect and exchange which yield some perspective on the process of alteration or change might be good. One reason suggested for the importance of parental involvement was that

in many children who reach this age, parents experience a reawakening of Oedipal concerns and incestual impulses. A joint parent-child course can start with the baby and then look at processes of physical and psychological development.

The question of who might teach such a course was considered to be important and it was suggested that persons trained in counselling in the school setting might be good; or else a specially trained teacher who was aware of his or her own motivations might handle it. It was considered that such a family course is especially important for terminal students, who are most likely to have problems and an immediate need for this information.

The training of the teacher was discussed a little more. It was noted that training would be needed in relating with both the children and the parents. It was seen as important that what was being taught had immediate relevance for the pupils. It was suggested that the pupils could observe their own setting such as at home and in the school, to bring in examples of what was being discussed. It was also suggested that they could be given some training in observation and systematic data collection.

A curriculum at the senior high level could best focus on family living, but it should be redefined as a terminal course rather than one primarily for pupils going on to college. This could well follow the earlier personality development course. The family course could be set up to look at parent-child relationships and preparation for marriage. It could include questions of selecting a marriage partner and look at social science research findings relative to this. It could examine the combinations of characteristics that yield a more stable relationship and such factors as interracial marriage, inter-religious marriage, research, etc. The children could read some scientific studies. Also material on the development of a two-person relationship to the point of readiness for marriage, should be looked at. In other words, the process of getting to know each other in preparation for marriage would be important. The problem of pre-marital intercourse should get full treatment here. It was suggested that, although it is currently contrary to Michigan law, contraceptive information should be included in such a course as soon as it was allowable. Finally, husband and wife relationships should be looked at. This should include such things as problem solving, conflict resolution, readiness for parenthood, family planning, and then finally parent-child relationships. Definitions and dynamics such as those of Freud should be presented illustratively. Cross-class family phenomena should also be presented.

The specific content along these lines might well vary to suit the population of the school. The priority purpose of such a course would be that of understanding one's own family constellation.

Another important area of content would be that of exploring the repercussions on family life of social change. Such things as redundancy based on economic considerations, shift work, and others should be explored. Other things that should be included would be relations within the nucleated family, relatives, friends, work associates, and social mobility. Another area of content would be the relation of individuals with external resources such as professional advisory services and social institutions. Some of these are important for ego support and some for such things as recreation. They should also be explored in relation to problems and solving problems such as divorce.

Areas of current interest to the two consultants included the current advances in group therapy and work with people on an out-patient basis. This included particularly current exploration and work with family therapy and conjoint therapy. Another area of interest was that of the cross-cultural approach to understanding family life. So far most research in this area has simply been descriptive. There is a need and an exciting potential in taking a more systematic, comparative approach.

SESSION 15

SOCIOLOGY

The kinds of goals applicable to a sociology curriculum were discussed first by our consultants, Professors Mayhew and Olson. It was felt these goals should be value relevant. The course should not simply be pre-professional training but should also be relevant "to human beings facing problems". One should avoid value indoctrination through the dry teaching of concepts, principles, and terms. There should be some emphasis on the methods of social science like sampling technique versus opinion. Experience could be provided by looking at elections and television ratings for example, or by teaching the methodology as a unit. Value differences such as communitarian versus non-communitarian orientations should be brought out. The book, City and History, was cited as a reference here.

The first part of the course should start out with the focus on methodology and should have two parts to it. The first would be to gain a sense of methodology objectives versus opinions. The second part would bring out the sense in which social science is related to values. There should be little concern with simply memorizing definitions of technical jargon of social science. The value relevance brought out in the course should help the student to see the values relevant to their own roles as citizens in our society. This should help them to be able to be more aware of what is going on in current social issues such as Viet Nam. Examples of social issues include world population, growth, nature of underdevelopment, and urbanization as well. Students should also look at such things as what are the major social trends, the major changes in society, to balance the work on personal adjustment.

The teaching technique might use current news as providing content relative to each problem. The development of awareness should be more than incorporating the published orientations. There is a need to provide means for discussing and applying social science principles through exploring social issues. A teacher's manual on principles would probably be important. The teacher would get help on understanding definitions through the manual, whereas the students would get theirs from explorations in the course. It was emphasized that this should not be a text book course; it should be a social science course not a sociology, social psychology, or psychology course. An important goal would

be to get away from provincialism. Such phenomena as culture, human plasticity, and the range of human social variation should be brought out. There should be a recognition of pluralism. The United States' way is not "the only", or necessarily the "right", way. There tends to be in our society at the present time a sociological bias. The United States is currently experiencing a freeing from social constraint with little awareness of the social forces which are allowing this freeing phenomenon.

The topics of the plasticity of the man, the notion of social constraint, and culture go together as three sources from which we can look at man. For each there are two levels. One is a symbolic level in which people grow up with different conceptions of what is happening. The other is that people grow up with different amounts of qualitatively dissimilar kinds of constraints on them. These restraints make them different. The outcome of learning here that should be made explicit is that of a value tolerance. The book, Growing Up Absurd, was cited as a reference. The author illustrates current criticism against pushing plasticity. Presented is the contrast between the notion that any way can be right versus there are some better ways.

In such a course students should recognize that people operate from different assumptions. You should make clear two aspects of reality including power and legitimacy. This should bring out the fact that there is moral leverage and it needs organization.

The phenomena and concepts of social conflict should be examined. This could be done within the context of race relations, labor management, or others. Another phenomenon that should be looked at is that of social change and modernization and the problems that these raise for society. There would be a goal of creating moral awareness of the social nature of these phenomena, not just the individual actions involved. It is most relevant for students at this time that an international concern should be developed. Working on units in world geography and world population problems students could consider the effects of modernization for the individual countries and how these affect the United States. For example, communism must be fully evaluated and not looked at simply as an evil which is put forth by "the bad guys".

Time spent on microsociology is not relevant to these critical concerns. Microsociology is relevant only to some personal concerns. Macrosociology is more important. The press and television today often fail to distinguish between important and trivial news. It was felt that it was a shame that the old style

social studies have been replaced by interpersonal adjustment in the high school curriculum. Any microsociology should be seen as a part of the larger system using the "group dynamics" approach. One should take a broad look at the problem of the emergents. The challenge would be to teach tolerance for ambiguity and commitments in the face of ambiguity. Presently, children tend to be protected from confrontation as in Eric Fromm's book, Escape from Freedom.

Discussion now turned to areas of current interest. One is a study of the relation of micro to macro sociology. This would involve discrimination of informal patterns, of primary relations and how they have impact just as do the larger societal forces, of the interaction of primary and secondary groups. How does one implement primary values in the secondary context? There is a theory here and it is needed.

Another current interest is that of the phenomena of modernization. Past emphasis has been on unity and harmony and integration. Now the conflict point of view in looking at problems is important. There is a new style of action research. In the twenties it involved "getting the facts". Now it involves doing action research in a theoretical framework. This is becoming true of sociology as well as group dynamics.

Another interest is the sociology of knowledge. It was noted that positivism is dead. Academic sociologists are being challenged by the "new sociology". This involves the document value bias in research. The sociologist will be a committed actor. The sociologists' role in the face of the explosion of knowledge needs to be looked at. Sociologist will play the role of the intellectual. There is an emergence of comparative research as well as foreign research. We will see a more full blown comparison in social research. There will be more research on pluralism. For example, do independent centers develop in the society versus the convergents within a power center? This will yield research intensification on phenomenon such as poverty. It will yield new theoretical developments like "what we mean by an institution being independent." This is the heyday of political sociology and its ramifications are ascending. Pluralism versus centralism winds up in this context. The classical approach is under attack. The social science fields are converging, see for example the case book method in social problems. It includes testimony before senate committees on pending legislation relevant to social issues.

It was emphasized that the course should not be taught with a standard text. It was added that this would depend on the teacher. The students should

be challenged. Teach micro and macro simultaneously by present materials at both levels. Sheriff's work would be a good example of the micro and one could extrapolate from it.

SESSION 16
DEVELOPMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

It was suggested by our consultant, Professor Culter, that the inclusion of material on developmental psychology should not be limited to a review of child development in the traditional sense. An important concept to develop is that individual behavior is determined by historical factors. The history of a person is related to his behavior and must be considered when an evaluation of that behavior is made. In this same line of thinking another important concept needs development: behavior is limited by structure. We ask the question "What is the world like to an amoeba, to a sponge, etc." These organisms are limited by their structure as is man or "superman". One could also get this idea across by looking at a human over a period of time and noting that actions are not the same at all levels of development. Lastly, the inclusion of the concept of learning and motivation are a must.

Experience should be viewed as a process since it involves input, categorization, and output. It follows that one should examine these categories or cognitions and see how they are established. This would be the developmental psychology part of the course. There are a range of approaches. One could look at several of these starting with the Gestalt theory in which these categories are believed to be built in, or the Freudian approach where the psycho-sexual stage is also a system into which categories are built. Moving toward the other end of the continuum one could look at Erickson, Fromm, and Piaget. Each have ideas about how the categories are developed. Things that happen as these categories are established determine how one is going to look at the world. It was suggested that Schmuck and Chesler's work present some of the kinds of social factors that should be considered.

It was noted that developmental psychology has an analogy in the development of culture. Out of the social cultural historical context the categories are developed. This idea of categorizing or conceptualizing can be looked at in terms of the individual and in terms of the culture.

An important idea that should be imparted here is that each social science is a part of a whole. There are certain basic concepts of developmental psychology that should be introduced so that they can be looked at in the context of the whole. In taking this approach change should be a phenomenon that is focused upon as it occurs in the individual, in the society, in the culture, etc.

Methodology was discussed. It was felt that individual teachers will vary, and should vary according to their style. Culture favors the socratic procedure. He would use projects to get the students uneasy about "cut and dried" notions of cause and effect. The need here would be to stimulate the students to inquiry. Chesler suggested cross-age, cross-sex observations, yielding methodological questions. It was suggested that this might lead to areas of concern in terms of the family behavior for example. Therefore, one might start with physical data which is not comparatively threatening. You could eventually work on down to motivational factors which do become more threatening. This raised the whole situation of the dilemma of "non-threat" versus the "legitimizing of scientific inquiry". It was suggested that it might be useful to devise a catalogue of techniques for teachers including helpful hints.

Cutler is currently excited about the conflict resolution work. He also has been doing some work on cognitive and perceptual development in children. This involved looking at the influence of parental attitudes on those of children. For example the body use of children and the parents reaction to the child influences the way he uses his body.

SESSION 17
STRATEGIES AND SUMMATION

Today we have a meeting of only the core group. Present are Chesler, Jung, Marich and myself, Nimroth.

Our purpose this morning is to talk over some of the possible ways that we might use the data that we have collected. Looking at its content, perhaps a scope on sequence is suggested. What should we teach and where in the curriculum should it fit? First of all we began talking about the possibility of our own members working in the classroom. Jung, for example, has teaching credentials and would enjoy teaching an experimental section of the material. This might be an excellent way for us to be right on the spot and see how the students react to the material. It would be more advantageous than to ask teachers to do this and then rely only on their comments.

Nimroth talked a little about the social studies introduction to the social sciences which is used in Palo Alto, California. This is a team-taught situation where they have six members on the team, each one a specialist in a separate field: anthropology, sociology, economics, etc.. As the class deals with the material, a specialist from that particular discipline is in charge and he plans the major elections and presentations, hands out the guide outlines for small group discussions, prepares the examination and so forth. This kind of course is wrapped around a set of major themes.

Chesler has no teaching credential and therefore would be limited in his work in the public schools, but Marich remarked that he could use Chesler at University High School on a consultant basis. We feel that this is probably an excellent avenue for getting Juna and Chesler actually into the classroom. Another strategy might be to get some people from the individual disciplines, such as economic and sociology, to go into the classroom and teach a course or a small segment of a course. The purpose would be to expose the students to the social sciences and at the same time give a master of that discipline an opportunity to see ways of using it in the classroom.

In looking at the current curriculum we find that by and large the seventh grade and the ninth grade are the only two grades in which any kind of exploratory-type materials are currently being used. This is pretty general across the country. In the eighth and eleventh grades there is a solid course

for American history. Tenth grade seems to be world history elements and twelfth also is filled with many electives. Each one of these tends to be a discipline field. An exception to this might be the problems of democracy or social problems course which is an elective at the twelfth grade. It may either be a sort of an experimental area or it may be a rather "cut-and-dried" course. So what is it that we are seeking? Are we seeking to develop a new course, units to fit within a course, or are we seeking to develop an entirely new approach to the social studies across the board? It might be all of these. Ninth grade seems at the moment a useful place to begin. Maybe we could use a new course on the meaning of personal and social change. The current course in civics is weak and many people now doubt whether it is the right thing to have at that particular grade level for the youngsters. Twelfth grade, of course, could do this same thing with more sophistication and in considerably greater detail.

From all the various kinds of reports that we have collected it seems that change as a phenomenon is regarded as an important concept which needs to be taught. It might be possible to up-grade some of the materials from the current experimental elementary programs and present them at a higher and more sophisticated level. The ninth grade might offer a unit or two of this new type of material. Other units could then be prepared which could be fitted into other places in the high school social studies course as it now exists. Some of these would fit very nicely into a social problems course; others into a democracy course; or even into an American history course. This is one possible approach.

Some of the people, in the elementary program at least, feel that one possibility is that these materials can be prepared covering an average reading age of fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. Therefore, the material could be used at any one of these levels. We should be sure that our materials are based on concepts which can be introduced at a higher level as you move up the scale each time. You have to make sure that the basic concepts are presented clearly enough so that any students having contact with the subject for the first time (those who have moved into the community and so forth) would have no difficulty in recognizing the concepts and catching up with the rest of the class. Materials for teachers' use will be an essential, to help them feel confident. The elementary teachers are finding that the guide materials they have been given for use with this elementary experimental program are

very useful. As a matter of fact they are so useful that they will make the people better teachers whether they continue to teach these particular units of material or not. Can we prepare material that will be flexible enough and adequate enough for any high school level? The consensus of opinion was that we could do this if we could come up with a basic set of concepts and then these could be approached in a variety of ways at various levels.

Many suggestions for classroom practice should be made. We are thinking now in terms of what kinds of suggestions are made in our materials for the teacher. There should be a wide range of activities or things to be done by the students, by the class, or by groups of students. Then the teachers could select from these and use those that have a direct application to this particular group of youngsters. We should not overlook the idea of a laboratory manual type of thing which was brought up by several of the people we have spoken to.

What can we do about values? What is a value and what values should we support, if any? How can we develop these when we tend to think primarily in terms of content and procedure? This is the problem that we have not worked with but we need to be thinking of. Perhaps we need to get into contact with the other groups of the Consortium who are dealing with values in the social sciences.

The teachers make a basic error if, because of their own particular training, they become so involved in content that they forget about procedure. Often they work with the assumption that they can proceed by lecturing or having students read, and that once a content has been presented in this fashion this is all that is necessary. What they really need to do is think of the material here in terms of what I would like to teach the youngster. What is the best possible way that this can be done? Lecture, reading, group work, individual experience, setting up experiments, working through the community, etc.; What is the best way? The teachers should build their lesson plans around this kind of thought. This is the kind of material we are going to have to provide in the units or courses which we design. We are going to have to cover a wide enough range of possibilities so that there will be something for everyone.

Another aspect of this problem is what is to be the role of the teacher. Is a teacher to remain as a full leader, or director, or assume the role of indirect leader, or a guider of learning? We can think of the class in terms of educational psychology, and think of the teacher as the decision-maker. The teacher has to make certain kinds of decisions about the group, about the material,

and about his own position. Within this he decided day by day, unit by unit, or lesson by lesson what is the best approach. The problem will be to persuade teachers to try a method where they are not the focal point of the lesson. Traditionally the lesson is dominated by the teacher who is the sole authority present but, with our kind of material, this is probably going to have to change. This is another reason why we need a large quantity of materials for the teacher. Let us avoid, if we can, the traditional work book method. In the workbook in the experimental elementary social science materials, there is no hint of the old copying method. The children must take the concepts encountered in the reading and in the class activity and use them in some new fashion to answer the questions or problems in the workbook. This is an entirely different thing.

We need to look into the matter of whether we are to be thinking now of the segments of the disciplines or an interdisciplinary approach. We have had people consulting with us from economics, sociology, psychology, and other social science disciplines: now we have to decide whether we want units of work which fit into these separate disciplines or whether we are going to try to structure certain kinds of "experience units" which are interdisciplinary in their approach. Currently the separatists are winning, and all across the country a whole array of new courses is being added to school schedules. They are all esoteric courses tied to a discipline.

Opportunities for working on our plans may come when University High closes and the Ann Arbor ninth grade and the University High ninth grade have different curricula. Ninth grade civics at the University School tends to be exploratory and it might be that we could work out some units, substitute them in their ninth grade and use them with the understanding that we would probably try to adopt this in the future. The seventh grade is another place where we might think of possibilities of units to be introduced. Particularly this might be true if the elementary material is used rather widely; it may be that this will be a logical step. Ultimately we may have to end up with different kinds of material so that some of the schools which have covered this experimental material in the elementary grades will have a different set of material to use at the secondary level, while some of the schools which have not done so will need material which is not simpler but of more basic form perhaps.

Section 14

SOCIOLOGY

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Human societies have a "structure" of recurring relationships, between elements of the society, which exhibits both persistence and change. The agent of both persistence and change is man, whose individual and aggregative ideas and behaviors serve either to reinforce and perpetuate established ways of doing things, or to initiate--by design or unwilled consequences--new patterns of living.

Man is both a passive and an active agent in society, sometimes appearing to be little more than the carrier of a cultural tradition, and, at other times, the innovator of bold new ideas and forces. Both views, however, are an oversimplified version of man and society; they account for little of that reality which we call society. For society is found to abound with social forces which were not willed into existence, and man's behavior is found to modify social forces quite independently of his intentions. It is the task of sociology to seek an understanding of the laws governing man's social behavior, and in so doing to better understand the workings of society.

STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

The patterning of life in human societies is remarkably orderly. The regularity with which man carries out his activities in the home, at work, and in the community suggests that man himself is a carrier of ideas about the various ways of ordering his activities. The fact that man's ideas are, to a certain extent, shared by others, and that man seeks support from, or is influenced by, the ideas and actions of other men, makes a large portion of man's behavior, social behavior.

A significant area of man's social life is based upon a set of expectations regarding the behavior of other persons. A man crossing the street with the light in his favor expects that the auto will stop. Drivers, in turn, do not expect that pedestrians will dart out in front of their autos. Guided by these complementary expectations, which are based upon more or less explicit rules, the attainment of the independent objectives of both drivers and pedestrians is possible. There are similar sets of expectations

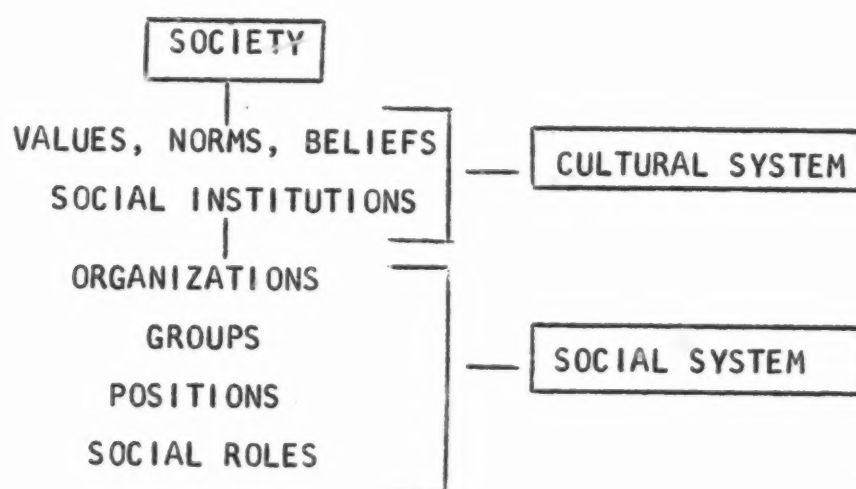
with respect to family members, co-workers, bosses, etc. It is the patterning of these expectations in certain areas of human activity that provides the basic orderliness of social life. The basic foundation for these expectations are found in the values and norms that are shared by members of a total society or a sub-group in that society. When these expectations are felt as binding for the individual personality (in terms of guiding his behavior) we speak of internalized values. When these expectations are more or less explicit statements of prescribed and proscribed patterns of behavior, with socially supported rewards and penalties, we speak of social norms. It is the social norm which connects one person to another in the patterned systems of social relationships.

Thus, the ways of thinking, feeling and acting of individuals can be said to be influenced by (1) the values and norms that are shared by members of a society, and (2) the networks of social relationships that locate persons and groups with respect to each other. These two areas of influence--values and norms and social relationships--are in reality inseparable. The behavior of an individual is a function of both the values and norms that the individual is exposed to, and the networks of relationships in which he is involved. The position that an individual occupies in a group, or the position of his membership group in the larger community or society, will expose him to certain patterns of social relationships with respect to other members of the group, or other groups in the community. These different positions will also expose him to different kinds of values and norms. In this way it is possible that any two or more individuals involved in a social relationship will be guided by shared views of the world, that is, similar values and norms, or non-shared views of the world.

We shall examine these two factors--social relationships and values-and-norms--more carefully. In order to do so, we will find it useful to agree upon a set of concepts referring to the elements or parts of society that we shall use repeatedly in this paper. These concepts will help us to look at the workings of human society from several different levels of understanding. For example, one may seek to understand the workings of society by looking at the day-to-day experiences of persons in the major spheres of everyday living, such as the home, the workplace, and leisure pursuits. One may also focus upon the larger social groups in which persons are involved, such as social classes,

ethnic communities, religious groups, and examine the relationships among these groups. Finally, an understanding of human society may be gained by looking at the broader historical and institutional forces that shape the form and content of the lower order groupings in which individuals are implicated.

These concepts will also allow us to be a little more specific in isolating the kinds of factors we believe are involved in the patterning of social life. Looking at the different elements of society we will attempt to demonstrate how each of these elements can be seen as having a "telescope" effect, in that each part is implicated in the more inclusive level. In the diagram below, we have the several elements of society listed.



The first and broadest level of concern is that of "Values, Norms and Beliefs." Here we are concerned with the things that people invest emotional interest in--things they want, desire, consider as important, desire to become, and enjoy. This level includes statements regarding modes of behavior that are the "oughts" and "shoulds" in different contexts; and it includes systems of ideas that serve the purpose of explaining the occurrence and non-occurrence of events in the natural world and the supernatural world.

But values and norms and beliefs are not simply discrete and unrelated elements affecting the lives of people who share them. Values and norms tend to interact, and they tend to take some area of human activity as their point of reference. When this clustering occurs, values and norms become socially meaningful in that they define the structure of behavior in specific situations. These collections of ideas for specified areas of human activity make up the fundamental "Social Institutions," or as one sociologist has put it, a map or

a blueprint for living. Thus, we have norms which refer to the conditions under which individuals may engaged in socially approved sexual relationships, raise children, engaged in courtship practices, and the like; the norms concerned with these matters constitute the family institution. There are norms concerned with those activities dealing with the production and distribution of goods--economic institution; norms concerned with the allocation of power and authority--political institution; norms dealing with the formal training of the young so as to insure continuity of the system and insure that certain tasks are performed by persons with the necessary skills--educational institution; and norms concerned with activities about "sacred things," objects of non-empirical ideas and intense moral respect--religious institution. We should keep clearly in mind that when we speak of institutions, we are speaking of collections of ideas concerning behavior. These ideas may be expressed in formally written codes, such as laws, or they may be expressed in the unwritten codes of tradition.

When the values and norms in any of the institutional areas become translated into specifically stated goals, and when the attainment of these goals requires the coordinated activities of a number of people, we speak of "Organizations." These organizations are the concrete manifestations of the underlying social institutions. The writ of these organizations and their claim to legitimacy, rests upon the values of the larger society. When a factory, as an economic organization, turns out a product that no longer appeals to the market to which it is directed (we are loosely using material products here as a reflection of an underlying value), the organization must create a new market, turn out a new product that appeals to the "values" of a prospective market, or pass out of existence. Similarly, when an organization has a product which is clearly a social value, this product must correspond to a value in the environment that is to support the organization. For example, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has virtually disappeared (relative to its earlier strength) due to the absence of any significant "market" for the values that were being espoused by the organization. In a similar fashion we can find the remains of many religious, educational, and political organizations that have either transformed themselves in response to changing values in the environment, or have disappeared completely.

However, the attainment of a specifically stated goal is not the only

reason for which individuals come together in common activity. Common interests, common values, and emotional identifications form the basis for many ongoing patterns of social relationships; in such cases we speak of "Groups." These groups, built upon the intimate ties of its members, are generally of the informal variety, serving the varied needs of the persons that constitute the groups; in addition, persons involved in groups tend to be involved as total personalities rather than as persons who perform activities which are a small portion of the total range of elements that constitute the self or personality. Such groups are best exemplified by the family and friendship groups. These groups do not seek to attain a specific goal, or to meet some need of the larger society (which was the case when we spoke of organizations); their continued existence depends upon the satisfaction of the needs of the members of the group. It should be clear, however, that we do not wish to create an artificial difference between organizations and groups. Within organizations, we find groups; and the very reason for this is due to the different basis upon which these two types of social phenomena are formed. The organization, as a special purpose collectivity is guided by considerations of goal attainment; the guiding norms and values may be efficiency, rationality, and impersonality. In the absence of any major efforts devoted to satisfying needs for warmth, response, or recognition, we find groups emerging to satisfy these needs. Thus, groups may be formed in an organization that are built upon values that are consistent with the values that are already inherent in the organization. Here we would find the mergence of close personal relationships among members of a particular work group. On the other hand, groups may emerge which are built upon values which are extraneous to the organization, and which may in fact conflict with activities designed to attain the organizational goals. An example here would be the development of close personal ties among workers of a similar religious or ethnic composition which would enhance their ability to work together, but impair their ability to work with others.

However, organizations and groups are not simply haphazard collections of individuals and activities designed to attain specific goals or to satisfy individual needs. They tend to exhibit orderly and persistent patterns by which goals are achieved and needs satisfied. This orderliness is the result of the internal structure of the organization or the group. Internal structure

consists of all those activities which must be carried out if the organization or group is to attain its formally stated or informal objectives. The required and necessary activities are attached to positions in the group. In an organization, these positions include that of foreman, manager, lathe operator, accountant, and the like.

Thus, both organizations and groups contain a designation of positions which specify the activities for persons occupying the positions. People learn what is expected of them, and are exposed to the expectations others have of them, when they assume certain positions. Expectations are, therefore, not diffuse things, but tend to be attached to certain positions. When the positions are filled, the expectations are activated and applied to the occupant of the position. This process aids movement into positions by enabling persons to anticipate the requirements that will be imposed upon them for positions they will fill through the orderly transition of the life cycle (e.g., children who will eventually fill the positions of father and mother). In organizations these positions are formally designated and persons are specifically recruited to fill the positions. In groups without a formally designated purpose we find positions evolving more or less "naturally" in the satisfaction of the group's needs and the needs of the individual members, e.g., the emergence of leadership positions.

The fact that any social structure or system of social relationships can be described in terms of the positions that constitute the structure does not explain the actual behavior of persons who occupy the same positions. All mothers or fathers, for example, do not behave in the same way. Despite the similarity of the positions, there is considerable variability in the manner in which persons in the same positions behave. To understand the actual behavior of persons in positions we need to understand the idea of the "Social Role."

When a person occupies a position, either a formal one as in an organization or an informal one as in a family or friendship group, he brings to this position his own values, attitudes, personality characteristics, and life experiences. What is brought to the position by the individual becomes one source of variation in how a person interprets the position he occupies and how he thinks he ought to behave. However, when a person occupies a position he is brought into a new set of relationships with persons in po-

sitions that are in some way related to his own. The person who occupies the position of "foreman" is brought into a set of pre-existing relationships with the positions of "worker," "manager," "shop steward," and so on. The position of foreman would make little sense without the other positions with which it is affiliated. Together these positions make up the social structure of an industrial plant, and they provide a preliminary mapping of social relationships in the plant. This new complex of positions that are related to the original position in question, is the second source of variation in how a person behaves when he fills a certain position. This variation stems from the fact that there are a number of persons who have expectations concerning how a person should behave in a certain position. With these multiple expectations we have differing and sometimes incompatible demands made upon the occupant of a position, who must in turn adapt to these expectations. These two sources of variation make up the social role of a person in a particular position.

These six elements, or parts, of society--values and norms, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, social roles--all point to the patterning that can be found in human societies. This patterning can occur at the level of social roles, which is the main element of the social self of an individual, or at the level of social institutions, which is the broadest level of society in which man is implicated. But to point out that patterning of ideas and behavior does occur in these six areas is not to show how this patterning takes place. Given the very great diversity of values, groups and organizations, one can reasonably ask how it is possible to even speak of orderliness and patterns. There are, of course, countless personal and social values and modes of behavior; the organizations which reflect these diverse and often conflicting values also exist in great numbers; the number of informal groupings and the myriad positions and roles that are contained in these groups, is enough to stagger the imagination. This proliferation of values, or groups, or roles, does not develop unchecked, however. The fact that each element of society is implicated within a higher order level automatically imposes limitations on the extent and direction of development at any particular level. We can advance our understanding of patterns and order if we examine the nature of the constraints that one element of society imposes upon another element; the interrelationship of elements is an important con-

sideration at this point. If, however, we choose to focus upon the wide divergences in values or interests or organizations at one particular level, our main concern will be to understand the existence of institutional, intergroup, interpersonal, and intrapersonal tensions.

In order to seek the kind of understanding of the workings of society suggested above, we will need a view of society which emphasizes the interrelationship of the component parts that constitute a society. This will allow us to consider both the cohesive and integrative forces in society, as well as the persistent problems and sources of tension that ultimately transform the society in which we live. In the next section, we will present such a view of society; that of a system of interrelated parts which contribute to the tensions and stabilities of any society.

SOCIETY AS A FUNCTIONAL SYSTEM

Sociologists have often found it instructive in understanding the workings of social systems to draw upon the analogy of biological and mechanical systems. Each of these systems can be understood by examining the parts of the system and the way in which the parts are interrelated. In the biological system, for example, the operation of the heart can be examined in terms of the other parts of the organism that are related to the heart. The heart performs an activity that has certain consequences for other parts of the body. These consequences may affect other parts of the organism positively or negatively. When the consequences are positive we mean that there is a good "fit" between the parts of the system in question. As a result there will be a tendency for the nature of the relationship between the units to remain more or less stable. When the consequences are negative we mean that there is a poor "fit" between the units in question. The result is the development of certain "tensions" that produce pressures for change.

In looking at society as a functional system we start with a view of a complex whole of interrelated and interacting parts. But what exactly are these parts, and what is the nature of the relationship between them? Earlier we spoke of six conceptual levels of society: norms and values, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, and social roles. These six levels may be taken as the initial parts of society which provide us with some of the basic tools for understanding the regularity of human society. However, within

each level we have different parts which compose that level and which, in turn, may be examined from the point of view of their interrelationship. For example, the level of social institution is composed of the different institutional areas we outlined earlier, such as religious institution and economic institution. The organization and operation of any one institution may be understood in terms of its relationship to other institutions. When the "fit" is good the institutional forms will persist in a relatively stable manner. When there are tensions, some sort of adjustment between the two areas is necessary. We should keep in mind that in this discussion of institutional interrelationships we have assumed that the institutions in question are of the same importance in the society, and thus any tensions between the institutions will be worked out by a process of mutual adjustment. However, the importance of any institution must be measured by the extent to which the values of the institution and the organizations and groups which become infused with these values are of crucial significance to the general population. Given this definition of importance it is reasonable to assume that all of the institutions in a society do not stand in an equal relation with each other. Dominant institutions will be more likely to force the adaptation of less important institutions to their own patterns. Examples of this situation can be seen from the middle ages, when the religious institution shaped the patterns of life in the family, the arts, politics, education, work, etc. Similar patterns may be observed in societies where the kinship or family system is the key to economic life, political life, and so on. Modern industrial societies are often so complex that domination by a single institution is not very likely to occur. However, there are some organizations and groups that are more powerful than others in the shaping of societal goals and decisions.

At a lower level of conceptual analysis we could focus upon the interrelationship between the multiple expectations with which a person occupying a position is faced. As John Smith occupies the position of supervisor, or father, he is subjected to the expectations of persons who are brought into contact with him by virtue of occupying a position which is intimately related to the position of supervisor or father. These expectations may be supportive of each other, thereby making the behavior of John Smith relatively clear and unproblematic. However, if he is subjected to conflicting expectations, he

must somehow reconcile them to the satisfaction of himself and the persons who are relevant to the situation.

It should be clear that the mode of understanding we are employing will remain the same regardless of the particular social phenomena we are trying to understand. At one time, we may attempt to understand any particular social or cultural phenomena--such as a particular value, or the behavior of an individual or group, or the changing form of a social institution--in terms of its relationship to other phenomena at the same conceptual level; that is, to other values, institutions, or groups, respectively. At another time, we may look for the impact of a phenomena upon events at a different conceptual level; for example, the effect of a change in basic values upon relationships among groups. The particular parts of our functional system that we hold up for examination will vary with the problem under consideration. Again, we can see how the procedure we are outlining can be effectively used to isolate both the supportive parts of any society, and the sources of tension between those parts. The sources of problems in any society can be understood within this general framework, even though the particular form in which the problem is expressed will vary in different cultural contexts.

In the following section, we shall try to demonstrate the utility of the framework we have outlined above for understanding society. Four separate facets of sociological analysis will be presented. Within each we hope to outline the manner in which we can search out particular problems found in American society.

FACET I. VALUES AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS*

Most known societies exhibit patterned behavior in areas of activity that roughly correspond to the five institutional areas of family, economy, polity, education, and religion. The exact form which these institutions take will vary by societies, and will be determined by the value systems of the society. An understanding of the relationship between the values of a society and its approved and required patterns of behavior will allow us to understand the seemingly strange patterns of life in foreign lands and the more familiar patterns in our own country. In this section we will examine a number of dis-

*This section has made extensive use of Robin Williams, American Society, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

tinct value patterns found in American society, and we shall attempt to understand the role played by these value patterns in shaping different social institutions. The specific value systems outlined in this section are not meant to be exhaustive in any way; the diversity of values in American society make any neat classification impossible. Instead, value systems are selected that are easily related to the social institutions in the society. In this fashion we hope to demonstrate the utility of this facet of sociology for the development of curriculum materials.

Values are elements of human experience that are invested with great emotional meaning for people. For society, particularly society as we have described it, values represent the main source of "energy" in the operation of the component parts of that society. It is the energy which shapes the form of the main social institutions of the society. It is also the energy that provides the motivational bases for the behavior of individuals in a wide variety of social contexts. Thus while values become the very forces which shape the various social formations such as organizations and groups and their constituent positions and roles, they are also transformed when they themselves become translated into the means and goals of human activity. It is the mutual process of values shaping social formations and social formations shaping values that gives society its dynamic and adaptive features. It is also the very same process which allows us to identify various dislocations in a society. This, however, takes us ahead of our story; our concern here is with the manner in which values shape the social institutions.

The various prescribed, preferred and proscribed patterns of behavior found in a society are the concrete manifestations of underlying value patterns. This means that there can be found in most human societies a tendency to develop social customs, laws, and social norms that are more or less consistent with underlying values. Thus, social norms and customs are not identical with values; they are more specific than the values upon which the norms are erected. The same value, such as individualism, may find expression through different social norms in several institutions. While values continue to have meaning for persons, the patterns of living, or social institutions, that are built upon the values will also tend to persist.

Before turning to the actual value systems that we shall try to relate to the social institutions, let us first consider the general procedures used to

determine just what the values are in any society. This should enable use of this particular facet of sociology for the study of values other than those mentioned in this section. Since values are statements dealing with the desirable, they concern the goals or ends of action, as well as the standards by which these ends of action are selected. In addition, values govern the selection of means which are necessary for the attainment of ends. Thus, values may be derived from the choice behavior of persons. When a person puts a high value on something, it implies that he is willing to make sacrifices and forego other gratifications for the attainment of the desired end. In this fashion, the preferences in patterns of consumption among certain families can be used as indirect evidence of the value priorities of that family. The values of a total society may also be isolated by looking at the manner in which both public and private monies are expended. The value of education for either a family or a society can be estimated by the proportion of its resources that it allocates to education as compared to other things.

Another manner in which the dominant values of a society may be estimated is to examine the things to which people in the society seem to devote a great deal of their time and energy. Does religion, or art, or literature, or work, occupy the main energies of the society? When value choices are juxtaposed, as, for example, in the realm of occupational choices for the youth of the society, which choices tend to receive the greatest public support? What areas of life are associated with the culture heroes of the society; are they religious, military, industrial, or simply leisure heroes?

A final way in which values may be estimated is to look at the behavior that is most highly rewarded and praised, as well as the behavior that is highly disapproved and punished. The highest rewards, such as prestige, power and money, and severest punishments, such as imprisonment or public disapproval, are usually the best indicators of when the most cherished values are being upheld or challenged. With these things in mind, let us now discuss some of the major value patterns found in American society, and the manner in which they shape social institutions.

Achievement and Success

The American emphasis upon achievement and success may be observed in the oft-repeated Horatio Alger success story. Here we find emphasis on the "log

cabin to president" ideology which is exemplified in personal achievements of persons in the occupational world. It is not simply that the hard working, thrifty, virtuous person is looked up to for achieving success, but rather that all persons are specifically required to be achievement- and success-oriented. The pressures for success are so overwhelming that the person who is not successful suffers from the disapproval of his fellow men as well as personal doubts concerning his own worth.

Education

Closely tied to the value of achievement and success is the importance of education in the hierarchy of values. The emphasis here is upon the manner in which formal education plays an important part in the likelihood that a person will be successful in the occupational sphere. It should be kept in mind that the education value is primarily practical. The value is not upon education as an end in itself, but as a means for the attainment of the success goals. Education is the great "equalizer," providing equal opportunities for getting ahead regardless of any liabilities of origin. This "means-oriented" view of education places stress upon those aspects of education that are concerned with getting things done, and with devising the technically efficient means for attaining practical and useful ends.

Material Comfort

Great emphasis is placed upon a high level of living in American life. The importance of consumption behavior, and styles and patterns of consumption, play an important part in American patterns of living. The consumption orientation, as exemplified in the so-called idols of consumption that have emerged in American culture, is also closely related to the measures of success used in our society.

Judaic Christian Morality

Among the essential elements here is the belief in a single God who is responsible for the creation of a moral order that is the responsibility of men to follow. This moral tradition attempts to see events in the world in good or bad, right or wrong, ethical or unethical terms. This tradition also

includes a belief in the brotherhood of man, which is accompanied by humanitarian activities directed to aid the less fortunate.

Equality

The essence of the American value of equality is the idea that while men may not necessarily be born equal, they should all have the same opportunity to acquire wealth, power, and prestige. Equality of opportunity stresses the idea that those with the training and talent necessary to fill certain high positions will be selected for these positions without any weight being given to their station at birth. Another essential ingredient of the value of equality is the desire to see social relationships as democratic; those in positions of power and authority should not act as if they have this power and authority. A belief that "I'm as good as the next man" permeates formal authority relationships.

Freedom

This value, which may be closely identified with the stress on "individualism," seems to imply that individuals should be relatively free to make the choices and decisions they wish to make. This ability to pursue one's own ends in an unrestrained fashion often finds its expression in economic activities under the name of "private enterprise." However, it should be clear that the precise meaning of the value of freedom is not shared by all segments of the population. For some, it is a conception of man pursuing his own economic self-interest free of all governmental interference, the function of the government being the protection of private property, and the support of contracts and economic exchanges. Another view of freedom is the more recent emphasis upon equality as an essential ingredient to the maintenance of freedom. This view maintains that the freedom of the wealthy and the racially prejudiced to act in a manner which limits the freedom of others is not an element of individual freedom that should be protected. The lack of consensus on the meaning of freedom, and of other values, will be considered in the section dealing with the resolution of conflicting values.

Science and Rationality

The main stress of the values of science and rationality is concerned with the ways in which events in the empirical world are interpreted. These interpretations take place by a mode of thought identified as the empirical-logical method, that seeks to order and explain events in the external world. In addition to science and rationality being a way of looking at the world, it is also a way of controlling the world. Applied science as a tool for controlling nature is a highly esteemed activity. We are said to be an engineering culture, and this emphasis is reflected in a concern with the application of rational empirical methods to mastery of the environment. The applied component of science and rationality also carries with it a concern with getting things done by the most technically efficient means available, on things that have a specific "use." Thus, there is the possibility of a conflict not only with other values, but also with the possible conflicting tendencies that are found within the ethos of science.

Group Superiority Themes

The essence of this value is the tendency to ascribe privilege and differential treatment to individuals on the basis of their race or group membership. Racist doctrines of the biological superiority or inferiority of different groups is the main example of this value theme.

These, then, are some of the value themes found in American society. The main concern at this level of sociological analysis is to demonstrate how an understanding of the main value themes in American life can help us to understand the "way of life" of the American people--to understand its family patterns, its political life, its system of education. In addition, an understanding of, and a focus upon, values can help us to make sense of some of the broader historical shifts that have occurred in American social patterns. Let us examine some of the broad questions concerning American society that this particular facet of sociological analysis illuminates.

We have indicated that one of the most important aspects of value systems is the role they play in shaping social institutions. The important question is simply how values influence the form of human behavior in different areas of social life. For example, what does it mean to say that Americans hold the idea of individualism very dearly? Even if this is true, we must demonstrate

the social significance of this value in terms of how it effects behavior. The part that value systems play in shaping social institutions can be examined by taking the values of "achievement and success" and "education" and relating them to patterns of activity in different areas of life. Let us look at the effect of these values upon economic activities and upon the structure of the American family.

The emphasis upon goals that bring worldly success, and the direct encouragement to actively pursue these goals, has left a significant mark upon certain aspects of the American family. With worldly achievements, especially in the occupational sphere, being highly valued, there has been pressure upon male children in our society to "reach" and to "aspire" to things that are beyond their original station in life. This has led to reduction in the degree of father-son occupational inheritance, and the development of disparities in the social and economic levels of different generations of the same family.

A complement to the value on achievement is the value on education, which is the main means by which achievement goals are attained. The important aspect of education, as far as its impact on the family is concerned, is that training, or the attainment of necessary skills, is carried out in a setting that is apart and independent of the family. This has the result of reducing the dependence of male children upon their families for assignment to a position in the status hierarchy of the larger society.

These two values combined have had the effect in American society of reducing the significance of the family that one is born into, as compared to the family that one starts. The elements of this reduced significance include less control of the family over the important life choices of offspring, limited contact between families of different generations, and increased physical and social distance between family members.

In contrast, we may look at other cultures where the stress on the family tends to encourage the maintenance of the family, and the continuity of social, economic, and occupational life. Under these conditions, the family-related values tend to be more influential than achievement values which are independent of, or potentially disruptive of, the cohesiveness of multiple family units.

Thus, in this first facet of sociological analysis we have examined the manner in which more or less enduring patterns of social life in American society may be seen from the point of view of values and social institutions.

The same procedures for understanding may also be applied to patterns of life in other societies which may be markedly different from our own.

FACET II. INSTITUTIONAL INTERRELATEDNESS

In the preceding section, we outlined some of the dominant value patterns that are found in American society. These value patterns shape behavior in a number of areas of human activity. We can observe, however, that neither the value patterns, nor the behavior patterns that result from the values, are in any sense totally harmonious or compatible with one another. The values of "freedom" and "equality," or "equality" and "group superiority," require patterns of thought and behavior which give rise to problems. Given these contradictory and sometimes conflicting values and patterns of behavior, one may ask a simple question about the assumption with which we started this paper: How is society possible with internally conflicting social institutions? How do we get the orderliness and predictability that we suggested characterized any human society?

There are no easy answers to these questions. But we may begin to indicate the processes at work that have the effect of mitigating potentially disruptive forces, and of incorporating and "benefitting" from social conflict. Thus, we wish to emphasize the "natural" forces in a society which operate to maintain a certain degree of internal equilibrium, while at the same time being true to the overwhelming fact that a large part of the viability of any society is its adaptation to internal conflict. It is difficult to make a quantitative statement concerning "how much" conflict is "too much" or to make a statement about whether a society has been transformed for the better. Such statements would require criteria of evaluation and is not, at this point, of particular relevance to the question under consideration.

One of the more obvious forces operating to offset strain in a society is the simple fact that there exists a considerable degree of consensus on some value patterns, as well as broad areas of supporting patterns of behavior in the various institutional areas. Added to this is the fact that many areas of potentially conflicting ideas and behaviors are isolated from each other. For example, traditional religious morality is kept apart from the activities of the economic world. This does not mean that these two institutional

areas have no influence upon each other; it simply means that the occasion for contact between the two areas is limited, as well as the fact that the degree of functional interrelatedness of the two areas is also limited.

A second factor which mitigates conflict and provides some of the ties that hold society together is the degree of functional interrelatedness that exists between different sectors of society. This idea may be grasped by viewing each institutional area as yielding an "output" and requiring an "input" to continue its own operations. Illustrations of this input-output model are as follows: Economic activities require inputs in the form of persons with certain motivations for work and the desire to undertake prolonged training to fill the many positions in our labor force. The output of the family is to provide persons who have these necessary qualities. The output of the economic institution is to provide wages, and goods and services for the family. Whether an input-output model of this type is a good fit to the actual relations between institutions in the real world depends upon the extent to which the institutions are interdependent rather than autonomous. Certain aspects of institutional activity are more intimately connected than other parts; the identification of these connections is essential for the understanding of how the functional interdependencies can help to mitigate some of the strains that will arise due to conflicting and incompatible values. The more that two institutional areas "need" each other, the more likely that there will be both occasions for conflict and pressures for adaptations.

A third consideration of the manner in which contradictory or conflicting values or behavior coexist in the same society is the simple fact that societies and their constituent institutions do change. Such changes range from the gradual and almost imperceptible adjustments of ideas and behavior in different areas of life, to the clear-cut and relatively rapid but planned changes, to the sweeping and often unplanned transformations of the entire social fabric of a society. Conflicting values play a part in each of these patterns of social change. The existence of such conflicts is often one of the strongest features of a society. In such cases, conflicts serve to illuminate the flaws and seek to eliminate them before they result in drastic and violent changes. It is only when there is a suppression of the "natural" processes whereby value conflicts are resolved that the more drastic solutions

tend to come to the fore. All social revolutions have been preceded by the many small signs of discontent and conflict of values which went unheeded, and in which these small value conflicts were resolved by the domination of one group by another.

Social institutions and the values they represent are continually being reinforced, maintained, changed or destroyed by the shifting patterns of human thought and action. Our concern here with the interconnections of social institutions is an attempt to understand the manner in which changes in one area of life or social institution will bring about changes in another area. Incompatible or contradictory values will set forces in motion which will tend to reconcile the differences by "forcing" an adaptation of one institution to another. Thus, the economic institution cannot strongly encourage economic activities if religious institutions maintain a theology of anti-wealth and anti-economic activities. A society cannot long tolerate these opposing values in the same arenas of life, nor can individuals in the society long maintain the two conflicting cognitions with respect to economic life. Similarly, a family system which emphasizes family ties and occupational inheritance would be somewhat incompatible with the "requirements" of the economic institution for mobility and occupational selection according to market criteria. Value conflicts of this type may be resolved through the orderly or drastic processes discussed above. However, it should be kept in mind that the resolution of a conflict does not lead to the absence of conflict; such states are found only in utopias. Each solution to a value conflict results in the creation of another conflict. Such features are the main characteristics of dynamic and viable societies.

The ideas concerning institutional interrelations contained in this second facet of sociological analysis may be better understood if we apply them in three problem settings. First, we may examine some of the broad historical shifts in values and behavior that take place in any society. Second, we may take a more static view by focusing upon the city or community to discern the interconnections between institutional areas. And third, we can attempt to understand the problems that exist in the area of planned changes; in particular, we might focus upon the question of introducing new technology in underdeveloped areas. Let us briefly look at the possibilities for application in these three areas.

The coexistence of contradictory values, and acts that reflect these values, will set up certain "strains" in human affairs. These strains can become the point of departure in understanding changing modes of thought and activity in a society. Let us examine for the moment the shifts in values and behavior that have occurred in American society: a shift from extended family identifications and ties to nuclear family identifications and ties; a shift from a patriarchal family structure to a democratic family structure; and a shift from an emphasis upon individualism to an emphasis upon external conformity and "group over the individual" themes.

An understanding of these changes can be aided by looking for the changes that took place in other areas of life, and which had some impact upon the value and behavior areas mentioned. Economic life went through a major transformation which undoubtedly had its effects upon family life, authority relationships in the family, and the relationship between the individual and the group. Some of these transformations included the separation of the worker from the means of production, the growth of the factory system, the concentration of workers in relatively small spatial areas, the emergence of large scale industrial and governmental bureaucracies, and the development of independent institutions (independent from the family) for the training and education necessary to fill positions in the occupational world. Each of these changes in patterns of economic activity may be traced to the shifts in values and behavior that were described above. This same procedure may be applied to an understanding of the shift from "old" rural values of thrift, hard work and puritan morality, to the emergent values of hedonistic-consumption behavior, leisure, and relativistic moral attitudes.

In the second problem area we will use the community or the city as the setting for our analysis. Our main interest is in delineating the main institutional areas in the community, in terms of their representations in concrete organizations or groups, and exploring the relationships between these areas in terms of the input-output model. Depending upon the level of analysis that we wish to pursue, we may examine some of the intended and anticipated relationships between institutional areas, or we may explore the unintended and unanticipated relationships between the areas. For example, educational organizations have the specific purpose of educating the young and preparing them to take their place in the community. These are among the

intents and purposes of the organizations. However, there are numerous less obvious effects of educational organizations which tend to occur in addition to the planned and anticipated effects. For example, depending upon how an educational system is organized, such a system can either be the main mechanism for mobility and equal opportunities in a society; or, alternatively, the educational system may have the unanticipated consequence of maintaining and reinforcing existing class relationships, and the perpetuation of power, prestige, and income differentials.

The last setting in which this facet of analysis could be applied is in the understanding of the consequences of introducing new technology in underdeveloped areas. Here we could start with an examination of the main values of a society and their relationships to the social institutions. This would be the task we outlined under Facet I above. Once there is some understanding of the society, we can begin to trace through the consequences of any particular new idea, or new pattern of activity, or new technology, upon the existing institutional arrangements. In order to think through the multiplicity of consequences that may flow from the introduction of a new culture item or trait, we may ask a number of questions designed to uncover the facts necessary for the solution of the problem of planned change. This focus upon planned change is certainly not restricted to underdeveloped areas; the same framework might be used to trace through the possible consequences of any planned change in a community setting.

Let us assume that we wish to understand some of the possible consequences of introducing a new item of technology like a tractor or a harvester, or a new social invention like the reorganization of land tenure, upon the existing institutional structure of a community.* Some of the questions we would ask concerning the effects of this new trait are as follows: What, if anything, will the introduced trait replace? Who in the society will have to abandon or change their occupations? Who in the society will benefit immediately from the change? Will the benefits be in terms of economic advantage, increased prestige, or what? What are the formal and informal organizations and groups in which those affected participate? What will be the effect upon the power or social position of these organizations? What customs, habits,

*For good case materials on the problems associated with introducing technology in other cultures, see Edward H. Spicer, ed., Human Problems in Technological Change (Russell Sage Foundation, 1952).

values, etc. will be affected by the change? This list could, of course, be developed at length in any number of directions. This would depend upon the nature of the change that is being considered and the nature of the system in which the change will take place.

FACET III. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Up to this point we have spoken of the manner in which values shape social institutions and the manner in which the different social institutions influence and shape each other. In so doing, we examined the mutually supportive aspects of different institutions as well as the pressures and tensions for change which are created by contradictory values. It should be clear, however, that the strains and tensions, and the subsequent social changes, are in reality to be found in the behavior of individuals located in a variety of group contexts. Thus, when we spoke of the input-output model of institutional interrelations, the output of any institutional area is in reality the behavior of individuals in organizations and groups concerned with activities that are at the core of the institution in question. But how is it that the behavior of individuals in a wide variety of group settings is found to be in accord with the values at the heart of the social institutions? Certainly individuals do not consciously order their lives in order to meet the requirements of the institutional areas. When then does the orderliness of institutional patterns find its main source of support? It has been suggested that the answer to this question requires an examination of the goals of human behavior that lie between the large scale "needs" of the social institutions and the personal experiences of each individual. These intermediate goals are viewed as being sufficiently salient to motivate persons, and at the same time, to cumulatively lead to the satisfaction of institutional inputs. The question of just how individuals are motivated to behave in ways which are consistent with the "needs" of the social institutions, and the question of how the behavior of individuals is both the agent of persistence and change of social institutions, is at the heart of this facet of sociological analysis.

In this section we will discuss how these intermediate goals are transmitted and supported in the day-to-day activities of persons in the society.

There are three main aspects to this particular relationship between the individual and the social institutions. First, we shall discuss the general area of socialization as the process by which the ends and means of human behavior are transmitted. Second, will be a look at the interpersonal mechanisms which support or undercut the continued attention to the culturally transmitted means and ends of human action. And, finally, the question of the nature of man's ties to the world about him will be examined. In each of these areas the main concern will be to illustrate the manner in which the same set of processes may make contributions both to the persistence and to the change of institutional forms.

A noted sociologist once commented that each generation faces the threat that it will be overcome by a wave of barbarians. These barbarians are, of course, the new generation of children--those who as yet are unfamiliar with the patterns of living of the society into which they are born. The relative persistence of a wide variety of patterns of living depends upon the extent to which the ideas behind these patterns can be transmitted to the new generation. The process by which the existing ideas and patterns of living are transmitted is known as socialization.

Socialization may be understood by looking at the agents who are responsible for the process, and inquiring whether the process itself is a formal or informal one. In the early years of a child's life, socialization is carried out by the family, within the context of close, personal relationships. The process at this stage is also an informal one; that is, it is not a conscious, deliberate attempt to transmit some specified cultural content to the child. The non-specific nature of the process, combined with the emotional nature of the relationship, probably accounts for the very effectiveness of the socialization process. In late childhood and adolescence the agents of socialization become part of the formal process best exemplified by the school systems. In addition, the informal processes are now carried out within the context of a variety of peer groups.

While the process of socialization effectively transmits certain social and cultural patterns over generations, we also know that it is far from a perfect process. In fact, if it were perfect there would never be any social change; each new member of a society would be a mirror image of the culture into which he was born. Departures from the perfect pattern of cultural

transmission are usually the result of different agents of socialization to which one is exposed, and of differences in the generations of the agents of socialization and the recipients of the transmitted culture. For example, an individual may not be exposed to the same values and norms from his peer groups as he received from his family group. This discrepancy, and the need for some sort of reconciliation of conflicting values and norms, will lead to the emergence of new patterns. An additional source of imperfection in socialization is social changes that result in outmoded and changing values and patterns of behavior. Many of these changes produce generational problems which are the result of rapid changes that transform patterns of behavior faster than the normative prescriptions for behavior are changed. In this way we have normative patterns being transmitted which do not exactly "fit" the new behavior patterns. Many parent-child conflicts are the result of the markedly changing social conditions which create barriers to common meanings, shared pressures and shared views of the world.

Thus, it is through the processes of socialization that we obtain the initial basis for instilling the values and goals of human behavior that are in accord with the various social institutions. At the same time, it is also through the socialization process that institutional conflicts, pressures, and strains are transmitted to each succeeding generation. It is in this fashion that we may observe the same process to be at work in providing for both continuity and change within any society.

As we have discussed socialization, however, it is simply the general process by which values and patterns of living are transmitted. But what determines which patterns of living and values are transmitted? The possibilities are manifold, but these possibilities are limited by the fact that exposure to various aspects of one's culture is dependent upon the positions that a person occupies in a society, and upon the role relationships in which a person becomes involved. The multiple positions that a person occupies and the multiple roles that he plays permit selective socialization to take place while bringing about behavior substantially in accordance with the existing culture. But the position-role complexes in which a person becomes involved have other functions besides aiding socialization and effecting compliance. They are also the channels whereby the individual has some measure of influence upon the organizations and groups in which he operates, and ultimately

upon the various social institutions.

In focusing upon the individual in the different social institutions, then, we may examine the ways in which the individual shapes and modifies the positions he occupies in various institutional areas, and, in turn, the ways in which his positions and roles shape the individual. Starting with the individual, we can observe that each person occupies positions in each of the institutional areas. A man is a father, a boss, a church member, etc. His activities in each of these areas are the various roles that he plays. The performance of these roles brings him into contact with others playing reciprocal roles, and in this fashion some measure of conformity with positional requirements (or prescriptions) is guaranteed. Let us take the case of any two persons interacting together on a more or less consistent basis and in a situation that is commonly found in society and is not idiosyncratic to the pair in question. Such situations include husband-wife interaction, foreman-worker interaction, and friendship relationships. If Smith and Jones are the pair in question, we will assume that the behavior of Smith cannot depart too radically from the expectations Jones has of him, as such departures would impair the ability of Jones to perform his own role effectively. One sociologist, Talcott Parsons, maintained that when two persons are satisfying each other's mutual expectations, a state of "role complementarity" exists; a state of interaction which is held to be inherently stable and which leads to the persistence of the relationship in its present form.

The basis for the expectations that each person has of the other in any pair relationship are a part of the positions that they occupy. Of course, in a situation where new positions, and, therefore, new social relationships, come into being, the "ground rules" for the new relationships have to be established. Thus, the concepts of position and role, combined with the mechanism of role complementarity, provide us with a means for understanding how the socialization process operates, and how conformity with existing social prescriptions is achieved. This, then, is a partial answer to the question of how individuals are motivated to behave in ways which meet the "needs" of the social institutions.

We may also use the concepts of position and role to unravel the forces at work which lead to deviance from established patterns of expectations, and which become the means whereby individuals influence social institutions and

initiate social change. First, there may be an incompatibility between the personality of the individual and the requirements of the position. Even the most rigorous procedures for selecting individuals to fill particular positions will leave many discrepancies between the requirements of the position and the desires and capabilities of the individual. These discrepancies may result in either an individual's ability to play a role in a certain fashion or his desire to modify the role. Whether the changes that a role occupant undertakes become established depends upon the response of others to the new role behavior. Thus, the response of others will determine whether the previously established role is reinforced or a new role pattern emerges.

A second source of variation in role relationships that can lead to transformations of the activities attached to positions is to be found in the fact that a person occupying a position may be subjected to a number of conflicting expectations regarding how he is to behave. These conflicting expectations can be considered quite apart from the person's own interpretation of his position, and will subject the occupant of the position to different sets of demands that will have to be reconciled. When they are not reconciled to the satisfaction of all the persons holding these expectations, then new problems emerge regarding who has been satisfied and who has not. A timely example here would be the case of the scientist who is employed in a large-scale bureaucratic setting. On the one hand, his scientific role encourages him to work on projects that may be of interest to him as a contribution to basic knowledge. On the other hand, the need of the organization that employs him is to encourage work in areas that will result in knowledge of some practical and commercial significance to the firm. The requirements of both the organizational role and the scientific role are quite understandable from the point of view of the different values upon which the requirements are erected. However, if the scientist continues to need the organization as a setting in which to use his special talents, and if the organization continues to need the scientists to satisfy the demands of the market, then we can expect some mutual adjustments to come into play. Such adjustments will serve to redefine the requirements of both the role of the scientist and the role of the organization member.

A third force that may change role relationships is the fact that a person may have to reconcile the conflicting demands of a number of positions that he

holds. Whereas the preceding problem was interpersonal, and required the "juggling" of the expectations others had of how a person in a single position should behave, this problem is primarily intrapersonal, in that the individual has to somehow adjust to playing a variety of parts in a variety of plays. The expectations for being a good father may conflict with the expectations for being a good provider or a good worker. Similarly, the pressures for success in economic pursuits may prompt behavior that is incompatible with the morality of a particular religious persuasion.

Aside from these interpersonal and intrapersonal sources of deviance from established norms, we may also question Parsons' position, indicated, regarding the inherent stability of a relationship under conditions of "role complementarity." A recent essay by Alvin Gouldner has specifically pointed to the potential for instability in role relationships characterized by complementarity. The argument runs something like this: If two persons, A and B, are both behaving in ways which are consistent with each other's expectations--that is, that A does something that B rewards him for, and B does something that A rewards him for--then we may assume, as does Parsons, that both A and B will continue to give forth the same behaviors. Gouldner suggests, however, that something of an "inflationary spiral" can occur regarding the behavior that either A or B exhibits. For example, A might feel that since the behavior of B is so predictable it is unnecessary to continue to reward B (under conditions where rewarding B means incurring a cost for A). Once B's behavior is taken for granted by A, A is likely to devalue the behavior of B and, thereby, reward him less. This, in turn, will influence B to explore new patterns of behavior in the hope of getting the same reward that he had once received from A. It is under these conditions that the allegedly stable pattern of complementarity can actually contain the elements of its own instability.

Most of the above discussion in this facet of sociological analysis has dealt with the forces at work which result in individual conformity which established patterns of behavior (and, hence, change of existing institutions), and the forces which result in deviation from the established patterns of behavior (and, hence, change of existing institutions). It should be clearly understood, however, that the forces that make for conformity and for deviance do not necessarily operate to achieve some overall stable state of affairs wherein the "fit" among the various parts of a society (e.g., values, institut-

ions, groups, organizations, etc.) are in some kind of perfect harmony. In this sense, there is never a state of equilibrium in any society. Internal harmony of a system is impossible, given the multiplicity of social values, personal goals and desires, conflicting and competing collectivities, and the imperfections of socialization.

In addition, the relationship between any system and its environment (the natural and physical environment, or other societies) is characterized by shifting patterns of adjustment and subsequent social changes. This condition of non-equilibrium characterizes the relationship between an individual and his environment as well as between a society and its environment. It is precisely because of these imperfections, because of the continual and irreducible states of tension, and because the system does not "work," in the sense of providing nirvana for the individual and utopia for the society, that this final aspect of the relationship between the individual and the social institutions is of such importance. Here we are concerned with the question of why man continues to play his part in a game which works so imperfectly. It is a question of the nature of man's psychological, philosophical, and social ties to the world about him. In this sense it is more than the feeling of sharing a common core of cherished values from which man seems to draw some strength; it is more a question of the impact of these values upon his inner self, that part of his being which gives meaning to his life. In other times, such meanings were gained from the dominant religious bodies which provided more readily understood and accepted explanations for being. Modern man has become much too self-conscious to accept such easy explanations.

Current concerns with the nature of man's "relatedness" are found in the expressions dealing with modern man's predicament. He is often described as "alienated," as experiencing "self-estrangement," as being "disenchanted" with the world. This predicament of meaning in which modern man allegedly finds himself may be classified into three general areas of human activity: man's conception of himself; the meaning of man's work; and the meaning of man's relationships with his fellow men. It is no accident that these three areas should receive all this attention, for it is in these same areas that some of the most pronounced social changes have taken place in the last century. These changes include the trend toward greater specialization in the world of work, where man no longer sees the fruits of his labor. Under the assumption

that man derives some of his most important satisfactions and self-respect from his work, these changes have created a void in an area of man's life to which he devotes a considerable amount of his time and energy.

Other changes include the relative decline in personal, community-type relationships between individuals, and an increase in impersonal relationships. This trend has occurred in the work settings, with the growth of large-scale organizations, and in the continued growth of large urban centers. Along with these changes has been the decline in importance of the extended family, a traditional source of support and satisfaction for man.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the evidence concerning man's alienation is at best inconclusive; it has not been clearly shown that modern man is any more alienated than his predecessors in a pre-industrial pre-urban age. While the changes in man's working conditions, his living conditions, and his family life have undoubtedly been pronounced, the effect of these changes has not been well established.

FACET IV. SOCIAL PROCESSES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Up to this point, we have examined the manner in which values shape social institutions, the relationship among the social institutions, and the place of the individual in the larger society. In each case we were able to examine the patterns of stability and change of existing social forms and values. In this section we shall be concerned with the manner in which value conflicts are at the basis of social problems, and how such conflicts are often acted out in relationships among groups who support different values.

Earlier in the paper it was pointed out that the values underlying any institutional area are not unitary in nature. The same social institution may be guided by several value themes which are incompatible or conflicting. In addition, the same value will not be considered of equal importance by different individuals, by different aggregates of persons, and by different groups.

Among the reasons that values are differentially distributed in a society, both by importance and type, is that persons who share similar life experiences tend to develop more or less similar views of the world about them, while persons with different life experiences are likely to develop different values. Individual interests often find their expression in a group

context which becomes the basis for many conflicts of interests among groups in society.

The differential distribution of values and norms, among individuals and groups, provides the potential for problematic relationships among individuals and groups. Values, being of an emotionally charged nature, resist transformation; individuals and groups will defend the values that they cherish most. Most so-called social problems reflect basic value disagreements, either in the definition of a problem or in the solution of a problem.

These potential differences among individuals and groups may occur in any of the social institutions. There are religious differences, power differentials, income and prestige differences, and variations in the emphasis upon family and kinship ties. The resolution of conflict among groups is often accomplished through the basic social processes of competition, conflict, accommodation, and cooperation.

When individuals or groups seek to attain certain goals which are being pursued by a number of individuals or groups, and the interaction among these groups tends to take place with the framework of an acknowledged set of rules, the process is known as competition. In competition, if one group attains the goal, the other groups are automatically denied a chance to share in the goal. When individuals or groups seek to either deny other individuals or groups the opportunity to compete for desired goals, or they seek to eliminate the opposition, then we speak of conflict. Unlike competition, the only rules governing conflict relationships are efficiency rules. That is, any and all means may be used to attain the desired end. This should not be construed to mean that conflict has only negative consequences. Conflict may have such positive consequences as helping to establish group identities and group solidarity; it may lead to the creation of social norms where none existed previously; it may modify existing norms to make them more acceptable; and it may lead to readjustment of power relations by influencing antagonistic groups and persons to undertake cooperative activities.

When two or more persons or groups undertake agreed-upon activities for the attainment of a commonly shared goal we speak of cooperation. These cooperative activities tend to take place under conditions whereby the attainment of certain goals cannot be accomplished without combining the contributions of a number of individuals and groups.

The fourth social process consists of the case when one party of a conflicting relationship makes a concession to the other which thereby lessens or eliminates the conflict. This is accomplished at the expense of one of the parties, and is known as accomodation.

In cases where two groups share a particular goal, and at the same time both have access to the means necessary to attain the goal, there is little basis for the groups in question to confront each other with some basic disagreement. This relatively simple and non-problematic case of goal attainment is only found in abundance in utopias. The more realistic condition from the point of view of intergroup processes is where the goals or ends of action are not necessarily shared, and where there are differences in a group's access to the means for attaining desired ends. The pronounced differences we find among various segments of our society on such issues as medicare, civil rights, poverty, unemployment, and disarmament sometimes reflect basic disagreements on whether a problem really exists in any of these areas; or, if there is agreement upon the existence of a problem, differences may arise over the way to handle the problem.

The description given above of the four basic group processes says little about the conditions under which groups will confront each other. Whether groups are in conflict or cooperation depends upon whether they have certain goals in common, and whether the opportunities available to them to attain goals are viewed as just and legitimate. The following table is a general outline of the relationship between goals, means, and group processes.

Differential Access to
Means is Viewed As:

	Legitimate	Non-Legitimate
Shared Goals	Cooperation	Competition- Conflict
Non-Shared Goals	Accomodation	

On the vertical dimension of the table is an indication of whether the groups in question share or do not share some hypothetical goal. On the

horizontal dimension is an indication of whether or not the groups in question accept the existing condition of differential access to means as just (legitimate) or unjust (non-legitimate). We are assuming there will always be differential access to every desired goal; the question is whether this condition is accepted as just and right.

In the preceding table, cooperation is a condition whereby persons or groups accept their relative advantage or disadvantage, in attaining some shared goal, as just. A caste system in which all wish to attain some spiritual state, but where the differential ability to achieve this state is itself couched in moral terms, is a good example of this condition. A society in which spiritual salvation, for example, was the shared goal, but where one's present condition in the society was viewed as symptomatic of differential states of "grace" would also fit into this category.

A shared goal in which differential access to the goal is not regarded as legitimate may result in conditions which range from competition to conflict. Current examples which fit this category are the anti-segregation movements against unequal treatment in a variety of areas of living. Both the pro-integrationists and the pro-segregationists may share the same goals of equality and freedom. However, they differ sharply on the manner in which these goals are to be achieved, and at whose expense. It is difficult to say just when a situation will result in competition or conflict. This will probably depend upon the extent of the split over the means used to achieve goals. If we order on a scale the Negro civil rights groups, we find that the various points on the continuum from competition to conflict may be approximated. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the best example of the competitive approach to this condition of non-legitimate access to means for goal attainment. Much of their activity to redress the unjust aspects of the system take place through established legal channels. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee represents a more activist posture toward correcting unjust conditions in which it may engage in "civil disobedience" rather than work primarily through the courts. Finally, at the conflict end of the continuum we may place the Black Muslim movement which holds open conflict to be one of the means that the American Negro may use to correct the inequities of the system. It is debatable however, whether the Muslims can be viewed as sharing the same

goal as the groups they are aligned against.

The category in which goals are not shared but where differential access to the respective goals is legitimate provides a number of empirical possibilities. The different forms of accommodation which are resolutions to this condition of non-shared goals ranges from the situation where both groups in question manage to continue to pursue their separate goals, to the condition where the adjustment that one of the groups makes is in effect an adjustment of its original goals. The first possibility is where the goals of the two groups are conflicting, for instance, more security for wage earners versus bigger profits for the entrepreneurs, but where a single legitimizing framework exists. Labor-management disputes, for example, are usually carried out within the "agreed upon" institutional structure of collective bargaining. Many attempts to solve labor-management problems have been efforts to move these disputes out of this box (legitimized non-shared goals) into the shared goal box. Profit sharing plans have been precisely of this variety.

A second solution of the accommodation variety is where the different goals for which groups strive do not come into conflict because the groups are kept quite apart from each other. This is often called "cultural pluralism" or the coexistence of cultural sub-groups. Certain religious groups such as the Amish furnish examples of this in the United States.

A final solution, which is really a move into the category of shared goals and legitimate differential access, is one where the non-shared goals become shared by virtue of a change on the part of one of the groups. For example, if the Amish in the above example were to "take on" the general way of life (including the goals, of course) of the dominant system, this would be a form of accommodation generally known as assimilation.

The final category, which appears to be an "empty box," is that of non-shared goals and non-legitimate access to them. This is a condition of chaos, and by the definitions and assumption underlying our framework (namely, the search for pattern and order) this represents a pre-societal state. It may be suggested by way of speculation that this box is an example of the "original state of nature" and the "war of all against all."

The approach to the relations among person and groups expressed at this level of sociological analysis may be applied to a number of areas of interest.

The discussion of so-called social problems, as they emerge at a community level or a national level, may be viewed as starting from a basic disagreement between groups as to whether a problem exists, and if it does, what are the means by which a solution is to be achieved. And achieving solutions is, by no means, the end of the game. Each solution, by its very nature, poses a new set of problems for other persons and groups.

Concluding Remarks

We have tried in this paper, working with a limited set of concepts, to present an outline of sociology. Although much of what has been presented has been done with broad strokes, they present the fundamental categories and concerns of our discipline. The general structure that has been presented consists of six different levels of society: values, social institutions, organizations, groups, positions, and social roles. At any particular level we find great diversity--of values, organizations, groups, etc. To see society in its totality is to see down these levels of society and across each of the levels, and to look for the nature of the relationships among the many parts.

The most basic ingredient in this particular view of society has been the level of social values. Values are the energy, or the life blood, of the system. Values "seep down" to shape the social institutions; they become the raison d'etre for organizations and groups; and their relative "spread" becomes the basis for quite diverse human groupings. Ultimately, these values impinge upon the individual as they shape the positions he occupies in various groups, and mold the role relationships in which persons become involved. As values shape the structure of society, so do they become the meaningful ideas about which men organize their lives, about which they fight and die to preserve the status quo or to change it. It is the element which sets man apart from any other species of living organism.

Yet as these values impinge upon men and shape their society, so are they shaped by men and society. Men feel the "pinch" of the society in which they live; and as they feel this pinch they seek to modify the conditions of their existence. Men mold the positions they occupy, the groups and organizations in which they spend their lives, and ultimately the value systems of their society. Both persistence and change of social forms is achieved by this process of mutual influence.

Section 15

THE STRUCTURE OF GEOGRAPHY

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THE STRUCTURE OF GEOGRAPHY

I. HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND THE SCIENCES

All earthly phenomena exist in time and space: they have a chronology and a chorology. History's principal domain is the former and geography's the latter. They complement each other. Together they provide a context which serves to interrelate all human knowledge whether physical, biotic, or societal (economic, social, political).

In the physical order, the meteorologist focuses his attention upon weather or, in more generalized form, climate. He attempts to understand the genetic aspects of meteorological phenomena (origins, processes) or what might be called "the physics of the atmosphere" and he may even study the distributions of certain generalized climate types. He pursues these interests, however, more to understand the nature of weather and climate than to understand the times and places in which these meteorological phenomena occur. He would doubtless know that the abundant precipitation of equatorial areas is related to solar radiation and the cooling of warm, moist air masses by convection. He might even note that these relationships have profound influence upon the mineral-deficient, acidic, red and yellow soils generally associated with them. But the human occupance of the tropical rainy areas, for example, would probably be of peripheral concern to him since such investigation is farther removed from his dominant interest--the nature of the tropical rainy climate type.

In the biotic order, the botanist is primarily concerned with the inherent characteristics (forms, life processes) of plants of given

species and may even be drawn to investigate the circumstances of the environment which determine the distribution of plant life on the face of the earth. As in the foregoing example, however, his analysis is directed by a specific intellectual disposition--to inquire into the nature of plants. Accordingly, whereas he will probably demonstrate that the existence of tall, broadleaf evergreens of many species in the equatorial areas of the world is related to the warm and humid permissive climate which is to be found there, he will be less concerned with the greater complexity of non-plant phenomena which characterize the tropical rain forest. As a practitioner of a systematic science, the botanist defines his field by a particular phenomenon--plants. His interest in the chronological and chorological aspects of plant study is tangential to his core concern.

Similarly, in the societal order, the economist might focus upon the nature of production and consumption of goods in native subsistence economics of the tropical rain forest; the sociologist upon the roles of management and labor in tropical rain forest plantation agriculture; and the political scientist upon the implications of tribalism for the emergence of viable political states in the same area. As in the physical and biotic orders, these specialists bring exhaustive and thorough knowledge to their inquiries.

As a borrower of much of this first-hand knowledge, it would seem that the historian of, say, "Twentieth Century Liberia" would have little of consequence to contribute. Without the historian, however, who would fill the need for a synthetic temporal science? Who would accept as his mandate, his raison d'etre, the illumination of the complex interrelations among those salient elements which in their totality connote "Twentieth Century Liberia," the understanding of which would contribute to an informed citizenry's comprehension of issues involved in world affairs?

Likewise geography. Like history, it is not defined by subject matter but by its method or the way it looks at things. Historical science studies the association of diverse phenomena in particular periods of time or in development through time. Geography, as a chorological or spatial science, strives for an architecture of description in segments of space or areas. It too attempts to associate diverse phenomena: it is a synthetic areal science which utilizes the ecological aspects of all the systematic sciences--physical, biotic, or societal. Thus, to continue the example already begun, the geographer would continue his investigation of "Twentieth Century Liberia" by borrowing as necessary from the several sciences. He would depict a tropical rain forest area within which poor circulation (transportation and communications) enhanced the social cleavage between indigenous Africans in the bush and the descendants of emancipated American Negro slaves who sought to subjugate their less-civilized brethren. He would find that a marginal subsistence type of slash-and-burn agriculture on quickly-impooverished soils was transformed by infusions of capital and managerial skill to produce significant earnings of foreign exchange via commercial plantings of natural rubber, the source of which requires the tropical rainy climate regime for its optimum growth and healing. Finally, he would discover that the indigenous people were induced to leave the social security of tribal subsistence life in the bush and become wage laborers on a Western island in a dissimilar cultural sea. By illuminating these areal relations, Liberia is set off from other areas with which it can be contrasted and compared. This--explaining areal differentiation--is the quest of the geographer. Space, the chorology of phenomena, is his principal concern.

The foregoing lacks sharp distinctions between the three kinds

of science: systematic, chronological, and chorological. Hopefully, this stems less from the imprecision of the writer than from the fundamental unity of all knowledge and what has been termed "the right of scientific trespass." Quite obviously, systematic scientific inquiry might uncover significantly interconnected phenomena about developments through time or in space. Thus, an economist will investigate the period of the great depression of 1929 and an anthropologist will relate habitats to certain socio-economic systems. Similarly, historians and geographers at times inquire into the genetic aspects of the phenomena they study, as in the case of the changing occupancy of the Great Plains. Although studies overlap, however, the focus of concern is different in each case.

II. GEOGRAPHY

A. OVERVIEW

Today's world is a complexity of physical, biotic, and societal elements or facts, qualitatively and perhaps quantitatively defined, and exhibiting variety in space as well as variation in time. It is characterized by different kinds of land forms and varied amounts of rainfall; it has diverse types of forests and dissimilar crop yields; it exhibits contrasting traffic movement and population aggregations of all sorts and sizes. In his investigations, the geographer is concerned with the interconnections between sets of these elements or facts (physical and/or biotic and/or societal) which characterize specific places at specific times. His purpose is to locate geographic facts as they are assembled as sets or distributions in earth space and then by comparison, to explain how such geographic distributions are formally interrelated by areal association or functionally interrelated by spatial interaction. And since places so characterized obtain a certain distinctiveness of form or function,

he calls them regions. Regionalizing or generalizing about the relationships between and among sets of geographic facts in places (space) is the keystone of the geographic arch.

B. PRELIMINARY NOTIONS

At the outset, the geographer's course of inquiry will be topical or regional depending upon his emphasis; his conclusions will be determined by the scope or scale of his investigation; and his method will involve mapping, photo-interpretation, statistical techniques, and expository reports.

1. TOPICAL AND REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

Like practitioners in history and the other social sciences, the geographer has pursued his research interests topically or regionally. In the first instance, he analyzes the interconnections of a certain phenomenon or type of phenomenon commonly in its world-wide distribution in order to assess the modifications of process that differentiate areas. In the latter case, he focuses upon a particular locale and explores the interlinked occurrences to better understand the uniqueness of that area. Thus, for example, the economic geographer as a topical specialist might be engaged in the world-wide study of rail transportation, generalize about the character of certain rail patterns, and subsequently demonstrate how these different patterns co-vary with other phenomena to confer a certain distinctiveness upon the places in which they occur: Soviet Siberia demonstrates a tentacle-like rail pattern which in turn is influenced by a great expanse of sparsely populated and underproductive land severely beset with physical problems (permafrost, pingos, windblown sand, annual flooding, etc.) which inhibit easy and inexpensive railroad construction; the Congo (Leopoldville) has an interrupted rail net which reflects the need

for portages for high-bulk low value commodities which are moved most efficiently on a river system which, as nature would have it, is obstructed with rapids and waterfalls. On the other hand, the regional geographer would restrict the scope of his vision to, say, Soviet Siberia and inquire into those sets of geographic facts which make it a unique place on the earth's surface. He would borrow the generalizations of the economic geographer on its railroad pattern and use the explanations for such occurrences that the systematic specialist has brought to light. He would, however, probably delve into such matters as the discontinuous settlements of the tundra through which no railroad courses; the canal construction of Soviet Central Asia and river transport to the Soviet Arctic, both of which supplement rail circulation; the planting of marginal lands to foodgrains for reasons quite beyond their proximity to existing rail lines; the emergence of Baykalia as an immense producer of cheap electricity based on falling water and a potential center of chemicals production based upon, not rail, but pipeline transmission of oil from the Volga-Urals district. Or, to take the Congo (Leopoldville) as an example, the regional geographer might consider, in addition to the nature of its fragmented rail pattern and associated export production, prudent slashing and burning of forest cover in a climate zone where soils become rapidly impoverished once the vegetative cover is removed; the artificial political boundary which separates Bakongo tribesmen from their kin in the Congo (Brazzaville) and which weakens effective central authority; and the high infant mortality rate of pygmy peoples in the eastern Congo, based upon isolation from modern medicine and a physical environment which assists the spread of disease.

We might say that if geography studies phenomena in places to differ-

entiate one area from another, the topical geographer begins with phenomena and the regional geographer with places. But all phenomena occur in places; and the areal differentiation of places presupposes the existence of varied phenomena within them. Therefore, topical and regional geography differ not in kind but in emphasis. They both involve analysis and synthesis. They are inextricably intertwined in all comprehensive geographic study.

2. SCALE

The conclusions which the geographer may infer from his inquiry will be determined by its areal scope or scale. Theoretically, the scope may range from a point on the globe, mathematically defined, to the whole of the earth's surface. Realistically, however, the scope of the area subjected to inquiry must be comprehensible; and to the extent that it is defined in terms of the interests of the researcher, it must be meaningful. All aspects of the earth's varied surface are not simultaneously comprehensible and an indefinite number of points is not meaningful.

All scientific inquiry is based upon the assumption that the plethora of detail evident in today's world has an inner logic and can therefore be studied and understood. The geographer assumes that there is a certain order in nature and that man rationally organizes himself in space. In order to cut through the welter of detail that he finds in segments of earth space which are larger than points, he generalizes not unlike other scientists. On a large scale map (which approaches the 1:1 ratio of reality), he is able to locate many sets of geographic facts and relationships between or among them about which he might generalize. However, as the map scale decreases (or further departs from the 1:1 scale of reality), some of the assemblages of geographic facts (which might have been quite

prominent on the large scale map) dwindle to insignificance. The richness of detail on the large scale map must necessarily be reduced as the area represented on the large scale map assumes a small portion of a larger segment of earth space portrayed on the small scale map. Hence, in large scale studies, generalizations tend to be more numerous but particular. In small scale studies, generalizations tend to be fewer but broader.

However, the foregoing should not be construed to mean that large scale studies have greater utility than small scale investigations. While he loses the particularity of large scale studies in small scale inquiries, the geographer acquires through the latter a meaningful sweep which characterizes broader segments of earth space. A house is an assemblage of facilities. To the prospective owner, however, detailed knowledge about each facility might not be so significant as knowledge of the community in which it is located. So too with the building blocks of reality and the superstructure of which they form a part.

3. TOOLS

The map is an important tool, but not the only one, for geographic investigation. After deciding whether he will concentrate on the geographic distributions of a particular phenomenon in different areal contexts or on several phenomena in one study area, and after he has selected a scale suitable to the inquiry at hand, the geographer analyzes a given area or areas by means of first-or second-hand observation (field work, photo-interpretation, written reports) and he prepares therefrom either tabular or graphic portrayals or both.

The simple table or bar graph can reflect the location of specific physical, biotic, and societal elements, qualitatively and perhaps quantitatively defined, and occurring in time. For example, the geographer

might record for a given number of counties in Iowa (location) the proportion of acreage devoted to corn production (quality and quantity of a phenomenon) in a certain year (time). This constitutes a tabular or graphic array of a set of geographic facts or portrayals of a geographic distribution. Conceivably, he could prepare a table or bar graph of another geographic distribution, say, of cattle production in proportion to total agricultural production for the same counties in Iowa and for the same year as above. If the investigator then prepared a scatter diagram consisting of a graph on one axis of which was marked increasing values of the one variable, proportionate acreage devoted to corn, and on the other axis, increasing values of the second variable, cattle production in proportion to total agricultural production, he would be able to plot a series of points which, if grouped around a straight or curved line, would establish visually and subsequently, statistically, that somehow these two variables may be related. However, the simple fact that the two distributions are accordant does not demonstrate that they are causally related. It is incumbent upon the investigator to show that the accordance can be interpreted in terms of systematically related processes operating through time.

A more distinctively geographic portrayal of assemblages of geographic facts is the map. It too is graphic but besides having the propensity for revealing the location of qualitatively and perhaps quantitatively defined facts in time (as can the table or bar graph), it supplies something more. It shows relative location by means of which distance and shape relationships can be seen more easily. For example, geographic distributions have a certain dispersion or spread (over a distance) and a certain pattern or arrangement (or shape) of the geographic facts which constitute

them. The table and bar graph have no way of showing how the unit areas (the counties of Iowa, for example) are situated in relation to one another. The use of tables or bar graphs which perhaps consist of a random listing of counties, therefore, would not reveal whether there is one focal area of intensive corn-cattle production or several. Since productivity seldom conforms to county lines, the magnitude (shape) of the area showing the greatest co-variation cannot be known. The user of the table or bar graph would have data on the distribution of a certain set of geographic facts but they would be for necessarily discrete areas. Lost to him are all the suggestions for further inquiry which would emanate from the joining of these discrete segments one to the other so that a continuity, a certain gradation in intensity of corn-cattle production, could be established. If the shape of the most intensive corn-cattle producing area was known, for example, the geographer could be guided by his knowledge of the counties or parts of counties so conjoined to investigate other geographic distributions on those conjoined areas in his quest to determine other processes which relate to the occurrence there of significant corn-cattle production. On the other hand, if the geographer could establish the fact that intervening earth space (distance) separated several focal areas of production, this would suggest that there exists a certain organization of areas of intensive corn-cattle production with others not similarly characterized, each having complementary functions and tied over distance by a certain pattern of circulation. His exploration of such a hypothesized functional design has the potentiality for further illuminating why and how intensive corn-cattle production has come into prominence in certain areas.

The foregoing, however, should not be understood to imply that the map is always more significant a tool in geographic research than statistical

techniques. For example, soils may be classified as geographic distributions by similarity of characteristics. Their form and structure, however, are extraordinarily complex. If the geographer decided to explore the nature of soils in the Iowa counties of intensive corn-cattle production, for example, the generalizations that he must necessarily make to portray geographic distributions might exclude the more significant differences of soils which would be favorable or unfavorable for optimum corn yields. What is the texture of the soil? Is the water table high? How deep is the topsoil? Is there an impervious layer underlying the topsoil and if so at what depth? What is the slope of the terrain? A plethora of maps would presumably be necessary to illuminate the interconnections between soils and significant corn-cattle economics. At best, however, it would appear that soil and corn-cattle distributions would only be vaguely similar: soils are more than the sums of their characteristics. Geographers have used simple and multiple regression and correlation to good advantage in such problem situations although such techniques are probably too sophisticated for average elementary and secondary school students.

C. AREAL ASSOCIATION

We have hitherto paid attention to those elements of today's world which can be thought of as geographic facts. We have seen how scale affects the generalizations which can be made about sets of geographic facts or geographic distributions. We have touched upon the method by which geographical distributions are areally related. It seems to be worth while to resume at this point by initiating commentary on another meat animal producer, the Humid Pampa of Argentina, while we continue to pay heed to the foregoing Iowa example.

The distributional patterns that the geographer singles out from earth

space are a function of his research interests. Thus he might inquire into cattle production around the world as a question of cause-effect to be answered. He decides to focus his attention on Iowa and the Humid Pampa, among other areas. He separates the geographic facts which seem to be relevant to the question, establishes distributional patterns for each of them, and attempts to show accordance through map or statistical analysis. Thus he might plot data on cattle and fodder production for each areal context and exclude data on motor vehicle deaths and wine production. If the distributions of cattle and fodder production co-vary areally and the geographer can relate them via the operations of systematic processes, he concludes that one distribution helps to explain the other so correlated. This is an areal association. He concludes that the generalized accordant boundaries delineate certain distinctive segments of earth space (in Iowa and Argentina) because of two areally cohesive characteristics (cattle and fodder production) which, on the scale of his observation, pervade each whole. These areas of earth space which display throughout a greater or lesser intensity of these associated traits (or what the geographer calls "relative homogeneity") are labelled regions. And since they are defined by formal features, his cattle-producing regions of Iowa and the Humid Pampa are termed uniform regions.

Having done this, the topical geographer compares his uniform regions and notices that corn is associated with Iowa cattle production whereas alfalfa predominates in the Humid Pampa. Further analysis sheds light on this difference. The distribution of large landholdings in the Humid Pampa, unlike its Iowa counterpart, permits extensive rather than intensive agricultural methods. Corn, eminently suited to the hot and humid summers of Iowa, is unsurpassed in per acre fodder yield. In the Humid Pampa, on the

other hand, a year-long mild climate permits the easy growth and overwintering of deep-rooted, drought-resistant alfalfa which thrives on the rich, deep, well-drained, fine grained, loessial soils of the region.

Further analysis proceeds apace. Each region has certain societal elements (transportation nets, farmsteads) which are deemed to be relevant to the crop-meat animal association that served to define each. Roads and rail lines course Iowa, bringing in lean range cattle and bringing out finished steers. Roads are notably absent in the Argentine context but railroads carry fattened cattle directly to Buenos Aires dressers of beef. The processes of meat-animal production explain the different roles played by the two regions: on Iowa farms (which are not so large as to prejudice a family livestock operation and yet not so small as to make, say, the more labor intensive production of hogs alone feasible), it is more efficient to fatten lean range cattle in transit to easterly markets rather than to breed your own steers or to ship fodder to the Western range country. In Argentina, the enormous estates and lush, nutritious pasturage obviate the need for a similar response. The lack of roads in the Humid Pampa transportation pattern is largely influenced by the dearth of high bulk-low value road grading materials in the pebble-free, deep, loess.

If the topical geographer were to presume that the character of the farmstead had implications for making his uniform region more comprehensible and meaningful, he might portray the distributions of animal shelters. He would find that Iowa evidences numerous large barns for the sheltering of hay and cattle but that the Humid Pampa has no similar cultural pattern. In the Midwest, the cold winters require animal shelters (and often the old horse barn has had new tenants) but the mild Pampa winter permits the overwintering of cattle on the open range.

The reader will note that the procedures of areal analysis and comparison have illuminated features which meat animal producing regions share in common as well as those that differentiate them. Their determination permits the geographer to establish broad regional requisites for this industry and these have implications for further investigation. For example, the geographer might consider the changes in localized associations that might improve the quality or quantity of production; if these prospective changes are transferable from one region to another; and how these changes might alter the stability of a given undertaking.

If, on the other hand, the geographer's research interests are motivated less by the desire to compare geographic distributions for a particular phenomenon in different parts of the world but more by the inclination to look at many sets of geographic facts for a special segment of earth space, say the Humid Pampa, he would attempt the greatest possible synthesis of features as analyzed in the foregoing or as contributed by other systematic specialists. He would, no doubt, study the growth of an urban industrial force which stemmed from the natural increase of European immigrant agriculturists and which found political, economic, and social attractions in Buenos Aires. Similarly, the constant rise in wheat and corn farming which has transformed the Humid Pampa into a granary as well as a beef producer would also probably attract him as would the nature of, say, the truck farming zone outside the primate city. The regional geographer who focuses on Iowa might look at the current productive association in its evolution through time, assess the bases for average farm size and perhaps even try to determine why tenancy characterizes so great a proportion of farm occupancy.

D. SPATIAL INTERACTION

We have seen how analysis and synthesis with repeated comparison is a hallmark of geography. We have, however, attended to uniform regions only. It remains for us to consider regions of the nodal type and the concomitant geographic concept of spatial interaction.

When regions are constructed so that their homogeneity or distinctiveness is not based upon the areal association of features which with greater or lesser intensity pervade their wholes, they may attain homogeneity through the spatial interaction of their associated distributions which is, in turn, made possible by their internal design or structure. The uniform region is morphological and primarily static; the nodal region is functional and primarily dynamic: the former might consist of physical and/or biotic and/or societal distributions; the latter commonly involves societal distributions with or without distributions from the physical and/or biotic orders.

The core assumption undergirding the nodal region is that society organizes itself spatially. Accordingly, there are focal points of control and influences (or movements) which radiate to certain boundaries. Thus, for example, Buenos Aires is a focal point in the Humid Pampa by virtue of its role as a center of political authority and because of the influence it exerts upon the surrounding productive region as a rail hub and port. A study of Buenos Aires as the focus (central place) of the Humid Pampa considered as a functional region would involve the geographer in uncovering the nature of and the ties between those sets of geographic facts (or geographic distributions) which lie within the central place and its hinterland or tributary ~~area~~ which determines the size and specializations of the central place. Similarly, Iowa meat producers have ties to

producers of strong but lean range cattle and meat consumers farther east. The geographer might explain how and why Iowa feeder-lots are functionally interrelated with points of origin and market which may lie within or without the meat-animal producing region. Characteristically, a pattern of circulation (transportation and communications) binds the central place to its associated outliers so that the special functions each performs are part of an integrated structure (or heirarchy) of functions exhibited by every nodal region. Therefore, although nodal regions are necessarily quite specific (conceived on a large scale), comparative analysis of nodal regions of the same type may be undertaken to lend insight into the ways in which different economies function.

Finally, it remains for us to realize that uniform and nodal regions are not entirely unrelated. Every uniform region which is composed wholly or partially of societal distributions must have a specific location in earth space. Its location in relation to other places (situation) makes it more or less accessible to them. Accordingly, it may function as a focus with respect to any number of outliers or may itself be associated within one or several hinterlands of another central place or of other central places. Furthermore, since functional relationships take on a certain form, the nodal region may be said to display a certain uniformity. Hence it would seem that both kinds of regions may be used together in the task of areal differentiation. In the section that follows, two examples will be furnished to illustrate uniform and functional regions which, so unified, might be said to confer upon each of them a certain "personality". In this task, the geographer attempts the greatest synthesis of features from the foregoing examples; is further drawn to explain how those sets, along with others not as yet considered, have come to be areally associated or functionally

interrelated or both; and how together they represent, in large measure, the significant character of the human occupance of these two regions.

E. COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL STUDIES

1. THE HUMID PAMPA

The Humid Pampa is today the heartland, the core, of Argentine life. Yet it was not always characterized as an area of primary significance. Indeed, in the era of Spanish colonial rule, the Humid Pampa, with the same physical underpinnings it possesses today, was tributary to the areas in the Andean Highlands where the proximity of precious metals to local Indian populations attracted the conquistadores to a profitable "robber economy." The extensive grasslands and equable temperatures of the Humid Pampa had no similar mineral wealth to offer, and hostile Indian groups in the locale did not constitute an exploitable labor supply. Accordingly, the Humid Pampa came to be characterized by an extensive (rather than intensive) grazing economy in which crude gauchos bred sure-footed and strong mules for the transportation needs of the upland ore producers whose exports were oriented toward the Pacific and Caribbean. For food requirements, Spanish longhorns were left to range on the native pastures. By decree, direct sea trade was prohibited for the occupants of the Pampa and although gauchos were engaged in profitable smuggling, they had to look to the route through the then great city of Asuncion, upstream on the Rio de la Plata, for the preponderant part of their other needs.

As time unfolded, however, the moderate climate, good pastures, lack of natural enemies, and small demand for beef permitted great increase in the herds. If hides or tallow from the steers could be marketed, the animals were characteristically butchered on the open range and their carcasses

left to rot; wool could be had from sheep most easily by killing the animal in the pastures and by pulling the wool from its body. There was no significant market for Pampa beef: before the Industrial Revolution, productive economies of the North Atlantic Basin were largely self-sufficient; cities were small and those that had grown large from trade could find little reason to send vessels so far when it constituted antagonizing the Spanish court, acquiring a commodity which their nations already had in adequate supply, and gaining a foreign market of no significant size.

However, after Argentine political independence and the recognition of individual propriety rights to large estates in the Humid Pampa, a new industrial technology took root in England and transformed it into an island of factories with concomitant agglomerations of workers who left the vegetable gardens, farms, and livestock pens of the countryside for the industrial wages of the city. Value added by manufacture made for a thriving English economy but its ever-enlarging urban workforce had to be fed. The invention of the refrigerated vessel in 1877 made possible the shipment of large quantities of chilled beef (as distinguished from dried or salted beef as theretofore) to a good English market. Unfortunately, the lean, stringy beef was not suited to English taste.

How could the Argentine land baron improve his herds? Selective breeding was impossible in open range country where few trees existed for fencing material and where pebbles, let alone stones, could not be found. The invention of barbed wire furnished him an inexpensive fencing material. Accordingly, he began to improve his stock by importing pedigreed animals from England. But quality beef is predicated on more than quality stock: the estate owner had to improve his pastures. In the deep, fine-grained, rich, and well-drained loessial soils of the Humid Pampa, the deep-rooted

nutritious and productive legume, alfalfa, could be grown readily enough. But the landed gentry, like the O'Haras of Tara, would not condescend to perform manual labor. Neither would the gaucho, who shared with his mounted brethren the world over a haughty disdain for the "sodbuster." The steel plow had recently been invented. To whom could the landlord turn to plow under the tall native bunch grass, to break the thick-sodded European grass?

Another historical phenomenon solved his problem. When in the 1880's, southern Europe began to disgorge hundreds of thousands of landless peasants to the Americas, not a few of them migrated to Argentina. There, labor contractors commissioned by the land barons were able to obtain sharecroppers for the huge estates. In return for an assured fixed term of tenancy and a share of the crop he raised, the immigrant promised to leave the land under alfalfa. Since wheat or corn culture was found to be admirably suited for the preparation of the soil for alfalfa, the sharecropper became a grain farmer for three or four years. After his tenancy terminated and the parcel was left under alfalfa, the landlord was content to have the farmer repeat the cycle even perhaps on an adjoining parcel. The result was the progressive improvement of pastures and a boon to the meat animal industry.

English capital underwrote further Argentine development. Railroads and other essential economic overhead were constructed. Meat-packing plants in and around the improved port of Buenos Aires made it a premier economic focus with significant transportation functions.

As time unfolded, the wealth of the Humid Pampa based on cattle came to share prominence with an increasingly significant production of grain. Wheat and corn culture, which represent a more specialized and intensive type of land use, had its basis in the same nature-given physical endowment of the Pampa but with new and significantly different cultural phenomena--an

increasing agricultural labor force which consisted of an immense immigration and its offspring who were undaunted by the prospect of manual labor; and increased demand for these widely used foodgrains in the burgeoning industrial states of the Northern Hemisphere which found in the April harvest of the Southern Hemisphere a well-timed supplement for their stocks and larders.

Throughout modern Argentine history, this grain-meat economy made for the wealth of the few and a signally stratified Argentine society. The agriculturists had a feeble voice in politics. Their sons and brothers who had left the farm for the packing plants and other light industries of Buenos Aires were more active indeed but had no spokesman. The army and the Church and the landed aristocracy stood in formidable array against them as supporters of the regime--active or silent in behalf of the status quo. The success of the Peróns rested upon their astute observation that the economic satisfactions of the industrial worker were not a sufficient counterweight to his felt need for social status; and that their use of this emerging social revolution would adequately offset the military support which brought Juan Perón to power. Forced sales of wheat, corn, and meat to the State at low prices and their resale abroad at prevailing world prices served to enrich the Peróns and the government at the expense of the landed gentry--and this pleased the urban worker. The funds so gained, along with reckless new issues of currency, enabled the Peróns to increase industrial wages and permitted the easier repayment of debts engaged in when money was "harder." The "shirtless ones" of the factories stood staunchly behind them, and even after Juan Perón's ouster his vote-getting ability continued to be significant. The Peróns captured a revolution-in-the-making. If they served it at all, it was only perhaps

in having made the blue-bloods aware of a different kind of hunger in their midst.

Argentina has not yet had its social revolution. Buenos Aires today is one of the premier cities of the world. Industries, light and heavy, wise and questionable, have emerged in and around the great metropolis. And it is not unreasonable to assume that the advantages of the Pampa and Buenos Aires will make for even greater growth. But if the quests of Western man are fundamentally similar, changes of a different kind will ensue, and Buenos Aires and the Humid Pampa, the core of Argentina, will evolve into notably different forms as it has throughout its history.

2. IOWA

Today as in yesteryear, in the physical order of things, Iowa is a product of its situation within a large land mass. It possesses a climate regime characterized by cold and dry weather in the winter and heat and moisture in the summer. An end-product of glacial activity in geologic time, its level to moderately rolling terrain consists largely of rich dark drift which is deep and porous.

It is axiomatic in modern geography that the meaning to man of his physical environment is a function of his attitudes, objectives, and technology. Iowa's contemporary renown as an extraordinary producer of grain and meat animals is, without question, based upon nature's gracious endowment. However, it is at least equally a cultural achievement.

The occupance of what is today Iowa was, in its origins, not unlike Western man's use of most virgin lands. The trapper and trader were attracted to fur-bearing animals particularly around the Des Moines River; the first white settlement was based on lead mining. As the agricultural frontier moved westward, however, these exploitative or "robber economies"

gave way to forms of occupance characterized by greater labor and capital inputs although, admittedly, not without incidents where the soil was "mined" rather than managed.

Those Europeans and their descendants who moved westward to farm were products of their environment and culture. They and their forebears had sprung from a humid forested region which provided the material means for shelters, fences, tools, and fuel. Indeed, it was a general attitude among colonists that unforested land was unproductive: the word "barrens" connoted more than treeless areas. When they left the forested East, happily, they were introduced to the prairie along river courses and in the transitional zone between forests and grassland where these two biotic phenomena were interspersed. In these openings, timber was available for their traditional needs and the nearby grasslands, with sod considerably easier to plow than genuine prairie grass sod further west, were readily convertible into productive farms.

When the pioneer farmer confronted the prairie proper in Iowa, however, the sea of grass represented entirely new conditions and demanded a technology that had not yet been developed. Many, in fact, were drawn instead to the forested Pacific Northwest which to them was a more attractive alternative. On the prairie, an assured supply of drinking water could only be had by digging wells with pick and shovel usually for between 100 and 200 feet; rock and timber to line the well had to be hauled from a distance. The wooden and cast iron plows that performed well enough in cleared forest lands did not scour clean readily enough in these clayey grassland soils.

In one culture, the general attitude toward life consists of being in harmony with nature. In another culture, whose attitudes are differently oriented, nature is to be subjected to that culture's needs. If its

technical abilities are inadequate to the task, the facets of nature become determinants or restrictions; if, however, it can muster a varied technology, nature poses only temporary problems. Exemplifying the last case, within a short time span, there intruded onto the prairie a set of new inventions which changed its meaning for Americans. The drilling machine provided wells and the windmill harnessed the wind which blew unobstructed over the level terrain, easily drawing water to the surface. The steel plow scoured easily. Barbed wire permitted the construction of inexpensive fences which offered minimal resistance to wind and drifting snow.

These phenomena permitted the conquest of space. The character of the conquest, cast in a distinctive mold, was, again, a product of environment and culture. Lack of accessibility to surrounding areas suggested the prudence of using easily available materials for immediate human needs: the sod house and the use of twisted dried grass "cats" and dried cattle or buffalo dung for fuel were customary. Since farming was initially of the subsistence type, cattle for milk and meat as well as for draft and manure were adjuncts to a general type of mixed farming. Certainly this was a far cry from colonial days when some of their forebears in the East sought laws prohibiting the slaughter of oxen less than seven years old and when barns were abandoned when they were too full of manure. It was, however, equally remote from agricultural patterns which came with the invention of harvesting and threshing machinery and the railroad. By these innovations, surplus production was made possible and meaningful, and through them the farmer came to possess more of the amenities of life.

Prairie soils lacked road-surfacing materials, and rivers in the region were less navigable than those in the East. The intrusion of the civilizing

rails overcame this frustrating friction of distance and tied the excess production of the prairie, made so easy by new agricultural machinery, to the markets of the urbanizing East. Wheat was the first premier crop and by 1870, Iowa production was second in rank by states. Cattle herds that ranged on lush, abundant pastures were easily increased when general industrial prosperity and military needs in the North during the Civil War occasioned a greatly increased consumer demand for beef. After the War, however, the availability of immense numbers of Texas Longhorns (which could not be marketed during the conflict) and the occupance of the Great Plains by cattle ranchers created a significant change in the character of Iowa production. With minor fluctuation, it has persisted to this day. It became less costly, and therefore more profitable, for Iowa farmers to buy cheaply produced, lean but strong, range animals and fatten them in their own feeder lots. This induced changes in the crop-animal association that hitherto prevailed: first, since it was a better fodder crop, corn replaced wheat and the latter, more tolerant of climatic extremes than corn, occupied drier and cooler lands farther west in the Great Plains; and second, the Iowa farmer found further fortune in converting his livestock, which formerly supplied steers for his feed lot, into purebred herds to meet the demand of western stockmen for quality breeding cattle.

Today, the Iowa cattle finisher raises corn, oats, and soybeans or hay in rotation, with corn commonly occupying half his acreage. Oats are unsurpassed as a grain in balanced nutrition for animal bone and muscle; the soybean is a legume which yields valuable oil and a nutritious hay. Usually, the meat-animal producer buys significant amounts of corn from cash grain farms to supplement his own fodder supply, which, great as it is, cannot carry the large number of animals he finishes for market. He

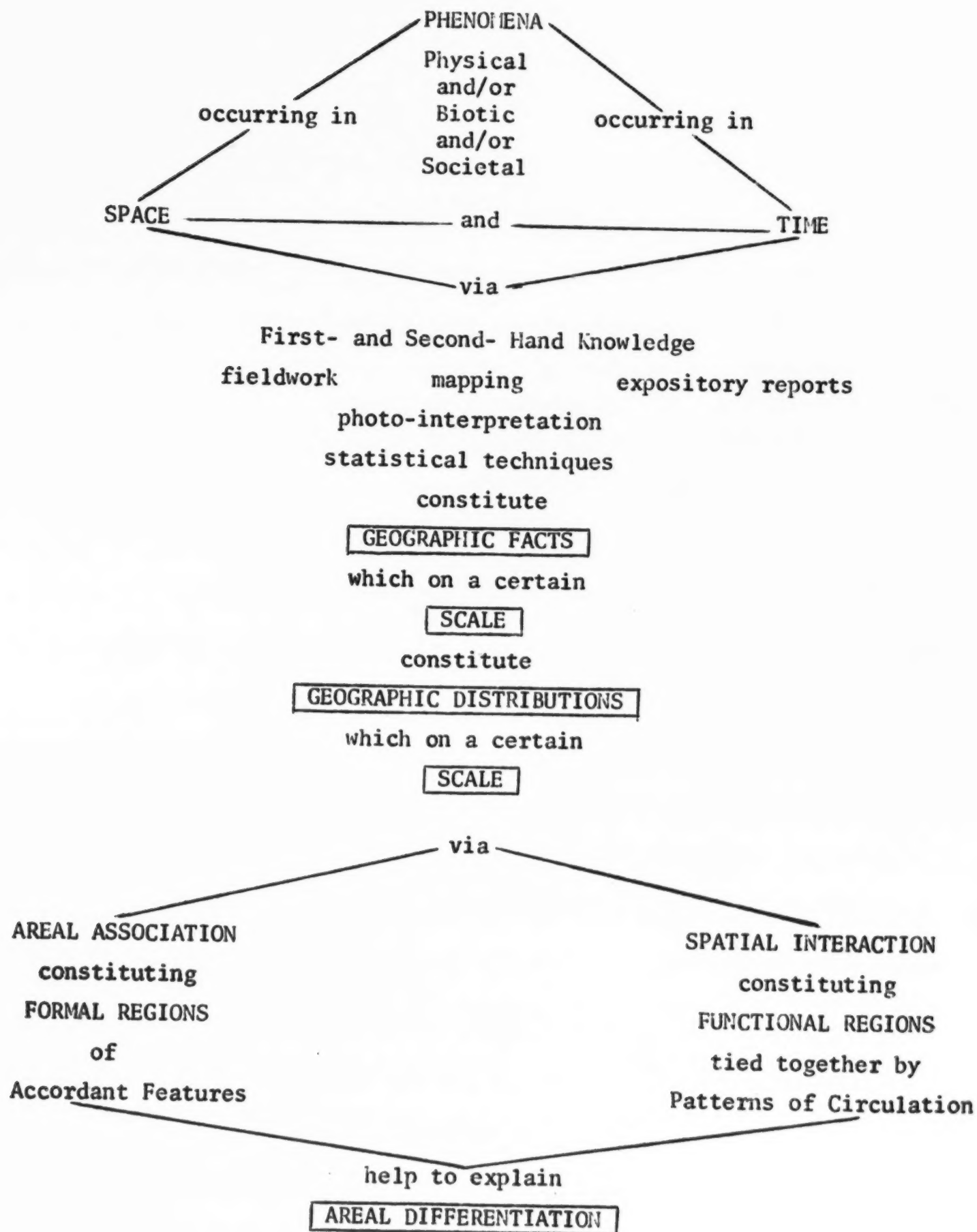
may, in addition, raise hogs, either as scavengers of corn which pass through the cattle undigested, or as an additional operation to insure him against cattle price fluctuations. His livestock holdings in any given year are customarily worth tens of thousands of dollars and exemplify intensive stock-rearing, quite the opposite of Pampa patterns. No wonder then that the Iowa farmer bolts when he hears "foot and mouth disease." Seldom fatal, this ailment conspires to reduce the amount of feed that cattle or swine will consume. The Iowa feeder lots, unlike vast Pampa estates, cannot profit from cattle that must be carried in quarantine until cured.

The size of the Iowa farm is not large: the Homestead Act created parcels far smaller than Argentine estates or Texas ranches. And since from the earliest days of agricultural settlement in Iowa the prospective farmer required capital to acquire the tools that made production possible, many parcels frequently came under the control of few financiers (who, foreseeing the potential of the region, underwrote the pioneer) and, as a result, tenancy has always been a trait of the Corn Belt. This is not untrue today and might well become increasingly characteristic in the future: a couple of hundred acres of land which with structures, machinery, and stock comprise several hundreds of thousands of dollars cannot be within the grasp of many young farmers. Factory farms are the order of the day and the latest in a series of patterns in a prairie state.

F. SUMMARY

In sum, if we were to diagram the structure of geography, we might devise something along the following lines:

FUNDAMENTAL IDEA RELATIONSHIPS OF GEOGRAPHY



Section 16

A SYSTEMS APPROACH
TO POLITICAL LIFE

David Easton
University of Chicago

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A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO POLITICAL LIFE

David Easton
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Introduction

In defining political science, we are seeking concepts to describe the most obvious and encompassing properties of the phenomena we wish to describe. The idea of a political system proves to be an appropriate and indeed unavoidable starting point in this search. Certain kinds of activity are more prominently associated with political life than others; for example, governmental organizations, pressure groups, voting, and parties. They are, of course, part of the whole social process and, therefore, they are also relevant to systems other than the political. Recurrent relationships among parts of the system suggest that the elements of political life have some form of determinate relationships. The task of research is to discover what these are.

Since all social life is interdependent, it is artificial to isolate any set of social relationships from the whole for special attention. But this artificiality is imposed on political scientists, as on all scientists, by the need to simplify their data. The analytic or mental tool for this purpose is a theoretical system, which consists, first, of a set of concepts corresponding to the important political variables and, second, of statements about the relations among these concepts.

We may sum up our common-sense perception of politics as follows: Political life concerns all those varieties of activity that influence significantly the authoritative or binding allocations of values adopted for a society. We are participating in political life whenever our activity relates in some way to the making and execution of policy for a society. This is a convenient and rough approximation to a description of politics. We must, however, attempt to further understand three concepts used in this description: allocations of values, authority, and society.

Allocations of Values

The essence of an allocation of values, the first of the three concepts, is that through it certain things are denied to some people and made accessible to others. An allocation, whether made for a society, a narrow association, or any other groups, consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocates valued things. A decision alone is of course not an allocation; arriving at a decision is only the formal phase of establishing an allocation. A legislature can decide to punish monopolists, but an administrator can destroy or reformulate the decision by failing either to discover offenders or to prosecute them vigorously. Not until we act to implement a decision, therefore, do we enter the second or effective phase of an allocation. In this phase the decision is interpreted in a series of actions and narrower decisions which may in effect establish new policy. This suggests that political science is concerned with ways in which valued things are allocated for a society, whether formally in law, or informally in practice. We often refer to these allocations as policies of the system or as its decisions, and both concepts will be used interchangeably with allocations.

It would be erroneous to urge, however, that political science attempts to understand the way in which society allocates all of its valued things; on the contrary, it is concerned only with the ways in which valued things are affected by authoritative allocations. We must inquire, therefore, into the meaning of authority, the second of the three concepts.

Authority and Society

An allocation is authoritative when the people to whom it is intended to apply or who are affected by it consider that they must or ought to obey it. It is obvious that this is a psychological rather than a moral explanation of the term. We can justify such an explanation because it gives to the term a meaning that enables us to determine whether a group of people do in practice consider a policy to be authoritative.

Political science is not, however, concerned with all authoritative allocations or policies found in a society. In organizations that are less than society-wide there are many authoritative policies; but these allocations are narrower than those that concern the political scientist. Thus, political research seeks primarily to understand the way in which valued things are

authoritatively allocated, not for a group within society, but for the whole society. The societal nature of policy is, therefore, the third conceptual criterion helpful in isolating our subject matter.

In summary, a social act is political if it relates to the authoritative allocation of valued things for a society. A political system, we shall see, consists of all the political interactions in a society.

Systems Analysis

No one way of conceptualizing any major area of human behavior will do full justice to all its variety and complexity. The conceptual orientation that I am proposing--systems analysis--stems from the fundamental decision to view political life as a system of behavior. Its major and gross unit of analysis is the political system, and this theoretical orientation will be given a specific and restricted meaning.

Systems analysis, as conceived here, is built upon the following premises and only the first two of these are shared with other modes of analysis that use the "systems" concept.

1. System: It is useful to view political life as a system of behavior.
2. Environment: A system is distinguishable from its environment and open to influence from it.
3. Response: Variation in the structures and processes within a system may usefully be interpreted as constructive alternative efforts by members of a system to regulate and cope with stress flowing from environmental as well as internal sources.
4. Feedback: The capacity of a system to persist in the face of stress depends on the flow of information, to the decision-makers in the system, about the effects of their decisions on the environment and on the system itself. The term "information" should, in this context, be construed to include influences and pressures, as well as facts.

It is the third and fourth premises which fundamentally distinguish this kind of systems analysis from other approaches to the study of political life that at least implicitly also interpret it as a system of behavior.

Systems analysis interprets political life as an entity which maintains its own boundaries while surrounded by and interacting with other social systems. It is an open system, subject to influences from outside its own perimeter. If such a system is to persist, it must obtain adequate feedback about its past performances, and it must be able to take measures that regulate its future behavior. Regulation may call for simple adaptation to changing conditions, to maintain fixed goals; or it may include efforts to modify old goals or transform them entirely. It may even be necessary for a system to transform its own internal structure or processes, in order to maintain itself as a set of activities for making and implementing binding decisions.

Systems

Before proceeding further, it will be useful to answer two questions: What is meant by a system of behavior? Does political life constitute such a system?

The concept of system will be used in two different but related senses. First, it may refer to the empirical behavior which we observe and characterize as political life, and about which we hope to develop some explanatory theory. Second, it may refer to the set of symbols through which we hope to identify, describe, delimit and explain the behavior of the empirical system. Because a system in this sense is a set of ideas, we may call it a symbolic or theoretical system. A causal political theory is a symbolic system which has as its point of reference the behaving system we call politics. The problem is to determine the best conceptual scheme, once we attribute systemic qualities to the actions that constitute political life.

Although we have been speaking as though political life does form a system of behavior about which a system of theory can be developed, it should first be established that this is indeed the case. It might be argued that whether or not a set of interactions constitutes a system depends upon the extent to which they naturally cohere. From this point of view, systems are given in nature and it is the task of the social scientist to discover the systems that exist in nature.

On the other hand, we can argue that all systems are constructs of the mind. It is pointless, however, to distinguish between so-called natural and non-natural systems, and we shall identify as a system any aggregate of interactions that we choose, as a matter of conceptual or theoretical convenience.

The only criterion for accepting a system as worthy of study is whether it is interesting; that is, whether the selected parts of political life are relevant to a particular set of problems, show some degree of interdependence, and seem to have a common fate.

Regardless of whether social systems are artificial constructs of the mind or symbolic reproductions of naturally cohering phenomena, we cannot take it for granted that the typical elements shared by all systems are intuitively or readily known. A common sense position would be that all social systems have as their basic units individual persons. Scientifically, it is more useful, however, to view all social systems as composed of interactions among persons. These interactions form the basic units of these systems. A political system will be identified, therefore, as a set of interactions, abstracted from the totality of social behavior, through which valued things are authoritatively allocated for a society. Persons engaged in such interactions--those who are acting in political roles--will be referred to generally as the members of the system.

Environment

If the conceptualization of political life as a system impels us to identify the units of the system, it commits us also to describe the boundaries of the system, and to say something about what lies outside those boundaries.

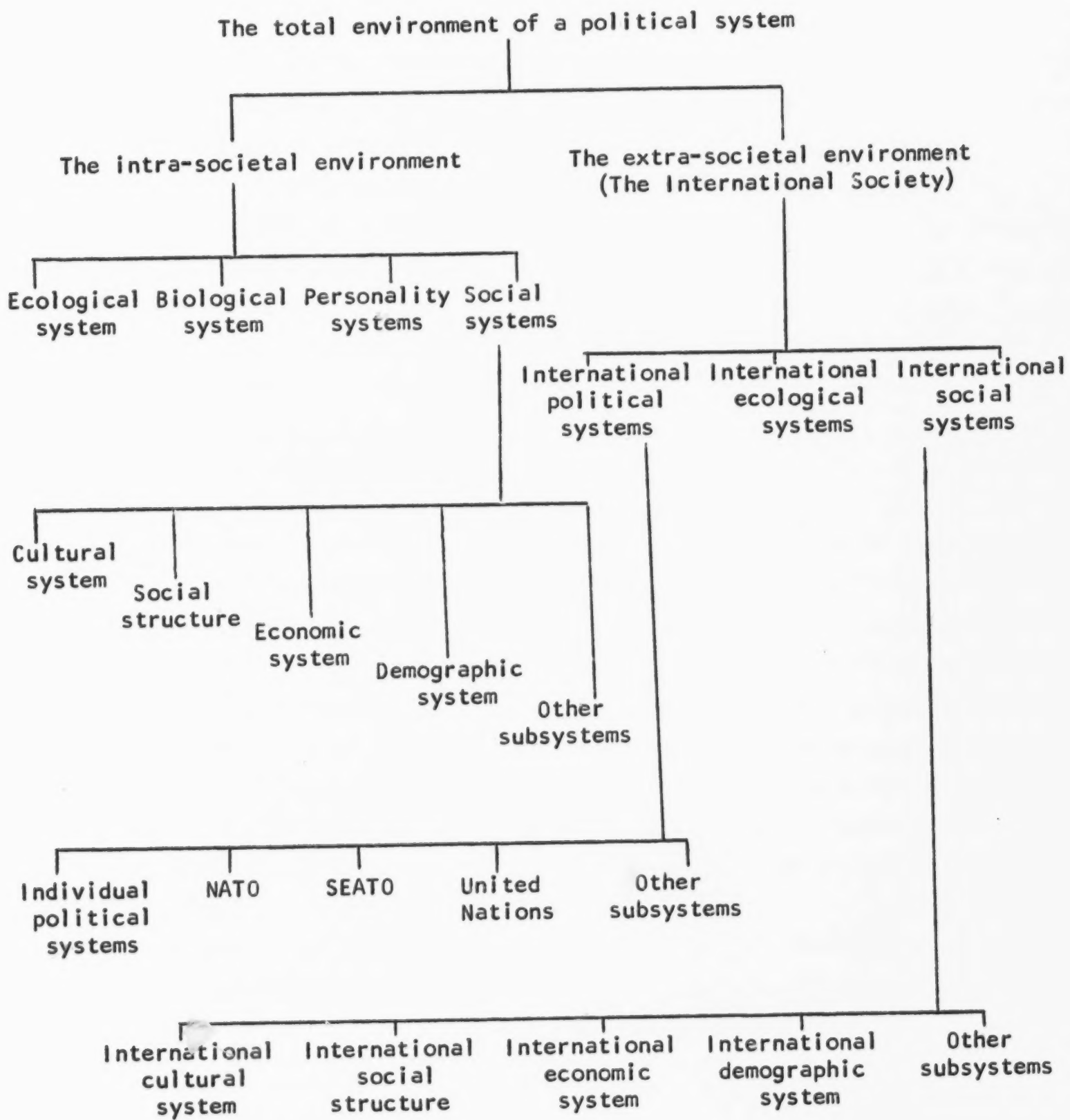
Those aspects of a society that fall outside the boundaries of a political system consist generally of all the other sub-systems of society and constitute the environment. The environment is social as well as physical; unless the context indicates otherwise, it will be used, henceforth, in both senses. This environment, with its variety of systems, is composed of two basically different types: intra-societal and extra-societal. Chart 1 depicts this dichotomy and indicates the various kinds of systems that are included in each. Our task will be to devise a conceptual structure for systematically and economically tracing out the interactions of the extra- and intra-societal forces with a given political system.

Response

One of the characteristic properties of every system is that it has the capacity to cope with stress exerted on its essential variables. The essential

CHART I

COMPONENTS OF THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM



variables of the political system are (1) the allocation of valued things for a society, and (2) the relative frequency of compliance with these allocations. Stress occurs when there is a danger that the essential variables will be pushed beyond what we may designate as their critical range, that is, when the political system is in danger of losing its ability to allocate valued things for a society and/or its ability to induce most members to accept these allocations as binding. A system may collapse because it has failed to take measures appropriate for handling stress. The existence of a capacity to respond to stress is of paramount importance. An assessment of this capacity can help us evaluate the probabilities that the system will be able to ward off the stresses. The special objective and merit of a systems analysis of political life is that it permits us to interpret the behavior of the members in a system in alleviating or aggravating stress on the essential variables.

How do the potentially stressful conditions from the environment communicate themselves to a political system? Common sense tells us that there is an enormous variety of environmental influences at work on a system. Do we have to treat each change in the environment as a separate and unique disturbance, of which the specific effects on the political system have to be independently worked out? Or can we devise a way of generalizing our method for handling the impact of the environment on the system, thereby reducing the enormous variety of influences to a relatively few, manageable number of indicators? I have sought to effect such a reduction through the use of the concepts "inputs" and "outputs."

Because of the analytic distinction made between a political system and its parametric, or environmental, systems, it is useful to interpret the influences emanating from the environment as exchanges or transactions that cross the boundaries of the political system. These exchanges or transactions can be summarized as the outputs of one system and, hence, the inputs of the other.

The two major inputs of the political system are demands and support.

Demands as the Inputs of a System

In any political system, demands represent one way in which the total environment leaves its impress on the system. The demands are a consequence

of a wide range of conditions and events that impinge upon the system and constitute one of the major sources of stress acting on its essential variables. In some circumstances the demands may become a potential danger to the persistence of a system. Demands set up a disturbance, the system feels the impact, its members respond or fail to do so, and the result reveals the effectiveness with which the system has managed to cope with the strain so occasioned. The sequence is one of stimulus-system-response-outcome, a pattern that will apply to the input of support as well.

A demand may be defined as an expression of opinion that a particular authoritative allocation should or should not be made. The expectation that the outcome will be accepted as binding distinguishes political demands from other kinds. We may, of course, conceive of many kinds of information being put into a political system: expectations, opinions, expression of motivations, ideologies, interests, and statements of preferences. At times these may be identical with demands; at others they may be just partial determinants of these demands. Wants, in short, only become demands if they call for action on the part of the authorities.

Demands constitute a central variable, since without them there would be no occasion to make binding decisions for a society. Demands thus provide the incentive which sparks a decision or action, taking the form of suggestions, proposals, invitations, or insistent concern for authoritative decisions or actions.

Before we can consider the stress that inputs of demands impose upon a system, we must decide how we are to determine when a demand has been "put into" the political system. Events related to the non-political roles of members of a society lead to changes in the things that they want, expect, need, prefer, or believe in. These changes help to induce and shape the expression of what members of society consider politically desirable or necessary. When such an expression occurs, we say that a demand has been "put into" the political system.

Demands have the capacity to impose strains on a system by driving its essential variables toward their critical limits. If the inflow of demands is so heavy or of such a kind as to require excessive time for processing, they may undermine the capacity of a system to produce authoritative decisions. The more time-consuming the demands, the more threatening they are to the

viability of any political system. If there were no ways of limiting volume and regulating content, large numbers of demands might go unsatisfied. And if these were from politically significant members, heavy stress would be imposed on the system.

Our analysis thus reveals a dynamic political system which gets something done; it processes demands. It is not just a set of structures that react supinely to stimuli; it is, rather, a set of interactions through which positive and constructive efforts may be taken to cope with situations that threaten to destroy it.

We might compare a political system to a huge, complex factory in which raw materials, in the form of wants are taken in, worked upon, and transformed into a primary product called demands. Some few of these demands are then found to be appropriate for additional processing through a variety of intermediary operations until they are ready to be converted into finished products, or outputs, called binding decisions. These outputs leave the system to act upon the society as a whole, with consequences that may make themselves felt subsequently through the generation of additional wants that seek entry into the system. This forms a closed-loop process, characterized as "feedback."

Regulators of Demands

There are two major means for regulating the initial flow of demands. One is bound up with the kind of political structure prevailing in the system; it determines who converts wants to demands, and therefore their number and content. The other relates to cultural norms. These establish what is allowed through; they consist of those rules of behavior which deal with what is or is not permissible in the system.

Every demand has a concrete and, in principle, determinable point of entry into a system through some member or group. Perhaps the most appropriate way to characterize these structural points in the system is to designate them as gateways regulating the flow along the demand channels. The gatekeepers, whether individuals or groups, form the key structural element in determining whether a want will be converted to a demand, a matter that is closely tied to the number of gatekeepers who regulate the admission process and the rules under which they operate.

Among the regulative means operating on the gatekeepers, one is especially

important: the cultural norms that inhibit or promote conversion. Without minimizing the importance of gatekeeping, we can say that many gatekeepers are themselves a product of their culture. Cultural norms act as the operating rules, deciding which grants will get through as demands. If a system is not to be exposed to possible stress from demand overload, the cultural norms must serve to reduce the number and modify the content of the wants that would otherwise be politicized.

While structural arrangements and cultural norms may regulate the entry of wants so as to prevent too many of them from seeking conversion through existing structures, the degree of stress on the system depends on other conditions as well. Stress may be reduced or even eliminated if the members of the system are willing and able to undertake measures to change the behavior of existing authorities, the structure of the system, or the cultural roles.

All wants are not automatically converted into demands, and many wants may be excluded by the structural and cultural means of regulation available at the beginning of the flow paths. Nonetheless, many systems may be faced with a larger volume of demands than they can process into decisions. To cope with such a situation, some means must be available to regulate the demands after they have entered the system, in order to prevent the major decision and action sub-systems from being overloaded. If efforts to reduce the number of wants that are converted to demands are not successful, the burden of accomplishing the reduction is transferred to intra-system structures. The capacity to cope with possible stress will depend upon the number, variety, and load-bearing capacities of demand channels and on the internal gatekeepers through whom demands are combined into overarching programs and policies, or telescoped into controversial issues.

Support as an Input of Systems

However successful a system may be in coping with stress from demands, another major input is essential to assure the continuance of the system as a set of processes for converting wants into outputs. This second input is support. The term support refers to a kind of transaction, other than demand, between a system and its environment. It offers us a relatively simple tool for analyzing a second major source of stress on a system.

The input of support appears in the form of both sentiments and behavior.

To obtain a rough measure of support, we could balance the number of members supporting and opposing a system, their power position, the intensity of their feelings, their capacity to express their feelings in action, and their readiness to do so under the circumstances.

Fluctuations in support may stress a system in one or all of three ways. First, support is vital for the persistence of the group of persons who share a division of political labor, an aspect of a system that will be identified as the political community. Second, without support it would be impossible to assure some kind of stability in the rules and structures through which demands are converted into outputs, an aspect that will be designated as the regime. And third, without support for at least some of the individuals holding political power, demands could not be processed into outputs. Most systems require some relatively stable set of authorities. These are the three objects of support--the political community, the regime, and the authorities.

Change in a system means change in one or another of these three objects of support, and only when all three change fundamentally and simultaneously can we consider that the former system has totally disappeared. Modifications in one or another of the three objects of support is a way by which a system can cope with stress from the environment and keep some kind of political system in operation for a particular society.

The Political Community

In speaking of the persistence of a political system, one implies at least that the members of the system show some minimal readiness to continue working together to solve their political problems. Otherwise there could be no expectation of compliance with any authoritative allocation of valued things. Political community refers to that aspect of a political system that we can call the political division of labor. The existence of a political system must include a plurality of political relationships through which the individual members are linked to each other and through which the political objectives of the system are pursued. The members are drawn together because they participate in a common structure and set of processes, however tight or loose the ties may be. To avoid any ambiguity as to who is or is not a part of this division of labor, each system provides criteria of member-

ship through territorial presence, legal definition, blood, subjection, kinship, or other means.

A member of a system extends support to his political community insofar as he stands ready to support it, actively or passively. A group of people who come together to draw up a constitution to regulate their political relationship--as in the case of the thirteen colonies in America--thereby indicate their intention to form a political community and to share a political division of labor. The particular structure of the relationship may change thereafter; the members of the system may be ranked, subdivided and rearranged politically; and the structural patterns may be altered. But as long as the members continue to evince an attachment to the overall group, they are supporting the same political community.

Political communities change when major groups within the community withdraw their support from the existing division of political labor. The American Civil War illustrates what occurs when an important segment of support disappears. Metropolitan France is an example of a political community which has experienced little change since the French Revolution, aside from minor fluctuations in its geographic boundaries, although France's regimes have undergone numerous drastic transformations.

"Political community" identifies and defines one of the major components of a political system. The idea of persistence and change of a political system makes sense only if the context indicates whether the reference is to the political community.

The Regime

In referring to the persistence or change of a political system, we may mean something quite different from persistence or change of the political community. The German political community remained relatively intact after the First World War and in 1933. Yet the system underwent fundamental changes when it shifted from the monarchy to the Weimar Republic in the first period and from the Republic to the Nazi order in the second.

Even if members of a group displayed the strongest feelings of mutual identification in a political community, they still must establish some regu-

larized method for ordering their political relationships. Ultimately, for the outputs to be accepted as binding, the members need to accept some basic procedures and rules through which controversy over demands can be regulated, and work out some ends that can at least generally guide the search for such settlements. I call this object of support the regime.

The regime represents relatively stable expectations, depending on the system and its state of change, with regard to the range of political matters, the rules or norms governing the way these matters are processed, and the position of those through whom binding action may be taken on these matters. Within this range, the politically relevant members are less likely to challenge the authority and validity of settlements arrived at, even though they may of course question their wisdom.

Not every system need be successful in stabilizing such a set of constraints on behavior, nor need it always be clear in any system what has been placed in this special category of expectations. Past practice may be undergoing challenge, and new areas of consensus may develop. Generally, however, if a system is to avoid turmoil or near-chaos, the basic ways of processing demands into outputs and agreement on the broad limits of these outputs must be stabilized. This is one of the primary conditions that will prevent deep and passionate conflict over day-to-day outputs from shattering a system.

The regime, as a set of constraints on political interaction in a system, may be broken down into three components: values, norms, and structure of authority. The values serve as broad limits to what can be taken for granted in the guidance of day-to-day policy without violating deep feelings of important segments of the community. It should be noted that, in general, the very nomenclature used to classify systems—democratic, communist, authoritarian, traditional, transitional, modernizing, autocratic, and the like—highlights differences in the value premises of such systems.

Norms specify the kinds of procedures that are expected and acceptable in the processing and implementation of demands. These are the ground rules for participating in all aspects of the political process, and they include more than the rules that are embodied in formal documents like written constitutions and legal codes. In fact, norms consist of two separable kinds of expectations: customary and legal. Both kinds of expectations help to provide a framework of order for political interaction; without them chaos could

scarcely be avoided. Customary expectations form a vast body of cultural expectations about how members ought to behave in a system. Not only are they not a part of a constitution or a legal code; they may, in fact, diverge fundamentally from the formally avowed principles.

The structures of authority designate the formal and informal patterns by which power is organized to make and implement authoritative decisions; they constitute the roles and relationships through which authority is distributed and exercised. It is patent that demands could not be negotiated through to outputs without a variety of structural means. Specialization of labor enables some recognized few to take the initiative to bring about adjustments in conflicting demands and to implement the resulting settlements. In some systems, these roles may be formally specified in an organizational or legal code; in others they may appear as informally developed patterns of leadership. But in each type or combination of types, the day-to-day control and responsibility for processing demands is undertaken through more or less stable sets of roles which tend to be complementary and which, as a set, are distinguishably different from other roles in the total political structure.

Roles in a structure of authority have a determinate relationship to each other and to the political roles in the system which are not a part of the structure of authority. Support is extended not only to single roles in the system but to the whole pattern of authority roles in the system. A person may support the Presidency or the Supreme Court in the United States as constellations of roles, regardless of who the incumbents may be.

The goals, norms, and structure of authority both limit and validate political actions, and in this way provide a context for political interactions. No system can maintain order without support for some kind of regime. This support must be given to each of its components. Persistence of a system as a means for converting wants to binding decisions depends, in part, therefore, upon its capacity to stimulate enough support to maintain a viable regime. If the politically relevant members are to be able to rally and commit human and other resources to the attainment of political outputs, they must share an understanding of matters that are subject to political action. They must also be willing to support rules through which differences may be negotiated, and structures through which the initiative and responsibilities may be undertaken.

The Authorities

There is also little likelihood that a system can survive if it fails to support occupants of the authority roles. In practice, we frequently identify authority as the government of a country or a group, but there is need for a term with a broader scope than that implied in the concept "government." We will, therefore, use the concept "authorities" to include members of a system who conform to the following criteria: they engage in the daily affairs of a political system, they are recognized by most members of the system as having the responsibility for these affairs, and their actions are generally accepted as binding as long as they act within the limits of their roles. Specifically, we refer to such occupants of authority roles as elders, chiefs, executives, legislators, judges, administrators, councilors, monarchs, and the like.

The authorities are the last of the three aspects of a political system. In subsequent discussion of persistence and change in a system, it will be understood that the reference is to one or more of the major elements of a political system just described: the political community, the regime, and the authorities.

We now turn to a discussion of those conditions that may lead to stress, and of the variety of typical responses through which systems may seek to cope with stress.

Stress

The persistence of a political system hinges not only on an appropriate regulation of the inflow of demands but on a second major condition, the maintenance of a minimal level of attachment for each of the three objects of political support--community, regime, and authorities. If the input of support falls below the necessary minimum, the persistence of the system will be endangered unless it adopts measures adequate to cope with the stress.

When existing systems of great stability are threatened with loss of support, the status quo may survive for long periods, unless a counter elite or other organized groups are available and ready to give direction to the disaffected. Apathy, inertia, and inadequate leadership have accounted for the persistence of political objects in many systems when the level of support is astonishingly low. But in the normal course of events, lack of support is the prelude to important changes of some kind.

Erosion of support may occur through a complex network of relationships among the elites rather than as a result of the withdrawal of support by members in a system. The support of all members of a system is not necessary for the persistence of a political object, nor is withdrawal of the support of all members necessary for its change. In many important instances, the support of only an influential few has been sufficient to perpetuate the system.

Numerous conditions contribute to the decline of support. Many of them may be summed up under one category: output failure. As a result of a basic condition in a system, to be described as political cleavage, the authorities may find themselves unable to provide adequate outputs.

Output failure may arise when the authorities fail to take action to meet the specific demands of the members of a system. But, even if members have put in no specific demands about a matter, output failure may still occur. Such is the case when the authorities fail to take action that anticipates conditions which may later arise and to which members of the system might then object. Also the authorities may take action which they interpret as a response to demands which, in fact, are considered by the affected members to be wrong.

Initially, discontent from output failure is likely to be directed toward the authorities. But if there is repeated failure, the dissatisfaction may shift to the regime and even to the political community.

Most output failures are caused by internal dissension and conflict among the members of the system. Cleavage may so divide the relevant members that they find themselves unable to cooperate, negotiate, or compromise their differences. However, the fact that cleavages create stress does not mean that diversity and active conflict among groups work only in this direction. Neither social diversity nor political cleavage is a synonym for disunity, for they may also help to integrate a system. Furthermore, many kinds of differences, including cleavages, may be complementary, compatible, or at least neutral with respect to each other. If different groups with conflicting demands have something to offer each other in trade for mutual support, the centrifugal forces set up by group cleavages may be eliminated or mitigated. Differences alone need not mean stressful conflict, if the differences are not competitive or mutually exclusive. Hence, tendencies arising out of diversity or cleavage may contribute to the input of support, and even to some

degree of consensus for a system, and need to be balanced against the opposite effects that they also induce.

Through the way it structures its regime, a system may select a number of alternative means for ameliorating the stress occasioned by cleavage. Groups may be entirely suppressed and the society atomized--an extreme tactic. But even then the initial conflicts in outlook might continue because of occupational, religious, regional, educational, or other differences, although they might not be expressed openly. Another method of reducing stress is to try to homogenize society by blending or erasing religious, linguistic, and other cultural differences.

On the other hand, diversity may be accepted and mechanisms devised to allow for its expression, in a context that moderates the stress of conflict. Through representative structures, varied and effective avenues may be provided for groups to express or negotiate their differences so that no group feels entirely excluded from a part in the effective political process. In these ways, a system may respond to cleavage so as to prevent the sources of support for the political objects from diminishing or evaporating entirely.

Diffuse Support

No system could rely exclusively on direct measures, such as those of modifying the structure and the norms of the regime, in order to alleviate cleavage or to compensate for output failure. Two other general categories of responses are constantly available to maintain a minimal level of support for its objects: diffuse support and specific support.

At times the input of support may flow as a consequence of specific satisfactions obtained from the system with respect to a demand that the members make, can be expected to make, or that is made on their behalf. This will be called specific support. An example is that of a trade union which seeks a higher minimum wage and persuades the legislature to approve it. The union members see a direct connection between their wants and the activities of the authorities, and they support the authorities because they have acted favorably on this particular issue.

We know from history that members of a system have tolerated long periods of frustration in the satisfaction of their wants without support falling below the minimal level and becoming stressful. Indeed, no regime or community can

depend exclusively or even largely on support as a return for specific and identifiable benefits. Other means of adaptation to stress are necessary.

Support that is not directly linked to specific satisfactions may be generated by efforts to instill a deep sense of legitimacy in the members for the regime as a whole and for individuals who act on behalf of it, by invoking symbols of the common interest, and by promoting and strengthening the degree to which members identify with the political community. The important characteristics of all three methods is that, since the support is an attachment to a political object for its own sake, it constitutes a store of political goodwill. As such, it taps deep political sentiments and is not easily depleted through disappointment with outputs.

The inculcation of a sense of legitimacy is probably the single most effective device for stimulating the flow of diffuse support in favor both of the authorities and of the regime. Legitimacy supports both a regime and the specific occupants of authority roles. Under most conditions, a belief in legitimacy is essential to the persistence of a system. No other source of support can assure such ready acceptance of the system's outputs, even when they fly in the face of demands. Nor is there any more secure way to regulate the cleavages that appear in all systems.

In many, although not all, systems an additional source of diffuse support is the conviction that there is something called public, common, or national interest, or public welfare, or the good of the tribe, or the good of "our people." Wherever the conception of a general interest actively operates, it helps to regulate or limit the disposition toward divisive behavior on the part of the politically relevant members of a system, by establishing common standards for evaluating outputs. However the members of a system may perceive the results of policies or administrative acts, a share idea of the common good will reduce one of the major sources of difference.

Finally, when members become discontented with the outputs of a regime, some may be drive to question the desirability of maintaining the political community in its existing form. Most systems typically anticipate such possible stress by striving to arouse and nurture among its members a sense of political community, or a sense of mutual political identification. This is the third basic source of diffuse support, as mentioned earlier.

Specific Support

The second major kind of action by which authorities seek to maintain support consists of a flow of outputs which have a direct relationship to specific demands of members. Such actions, if successful, generate specific support.

The link between outputs and the input of specific support is much more direct than in the case of diffuse support. Yet these two kinds of support influence each other. Prolonged success in eliciting specific support may create deep general attachments to the various political objects. If a person feels favorably disposed toward an object for a number of specific reasons, he may develop an attachment to the object for its own sake.

We turn now to an examination of the processes by which outputs affect specific support.

Feedback

Outputs affect the persistence or change of a system through the influence they have on the level of support, either direct or derivative. The effect is direct when it meets present or anticipated demands of the members; it is derivative when it creates conditions that prevent dissatisfactions at some future date.

The mere existence of outputs will not prevent support from falling below some stressful threshold. We must discover what determines the effects that outputs have upon support. A decisive factor is the kind of information that is fed back to the authorities about the nature and consequences of their decisions and actions. A successful system must provide some means for bringing to the attention of the authorities, information about the state of the system and its environment and the results of actions already taken. Through such feedback the authorities can determine the extent to which their outputs are alleviating stress and increasing support.

The concept "feedback loop" is suggested here as a way of identifying not only the information that comes back to the system, but all the other actions which result from this information. Information feedback is a major mechanism through which stress is handled by the authorities, because the authorities are able to respond through the production of outputs. These outputs in turn have characteristic effects on demands and on support that are relevant for the input of specific support.

In brief, the relevant phases, in one complete cycle around a feedback

loop, are four: the outputs as stimuli, the feedback response, the information feedback about the response, and the output reaction to the feedback response. Each of these processes will be examined in turn. They represent modes of interaction between the authorities and those varied units that produce inputs both of support and demands. The interactions are diagrammed in Chart 2.

The Feedback Stimuli

Since we have been conceptualizing outputs as the mechanism through which

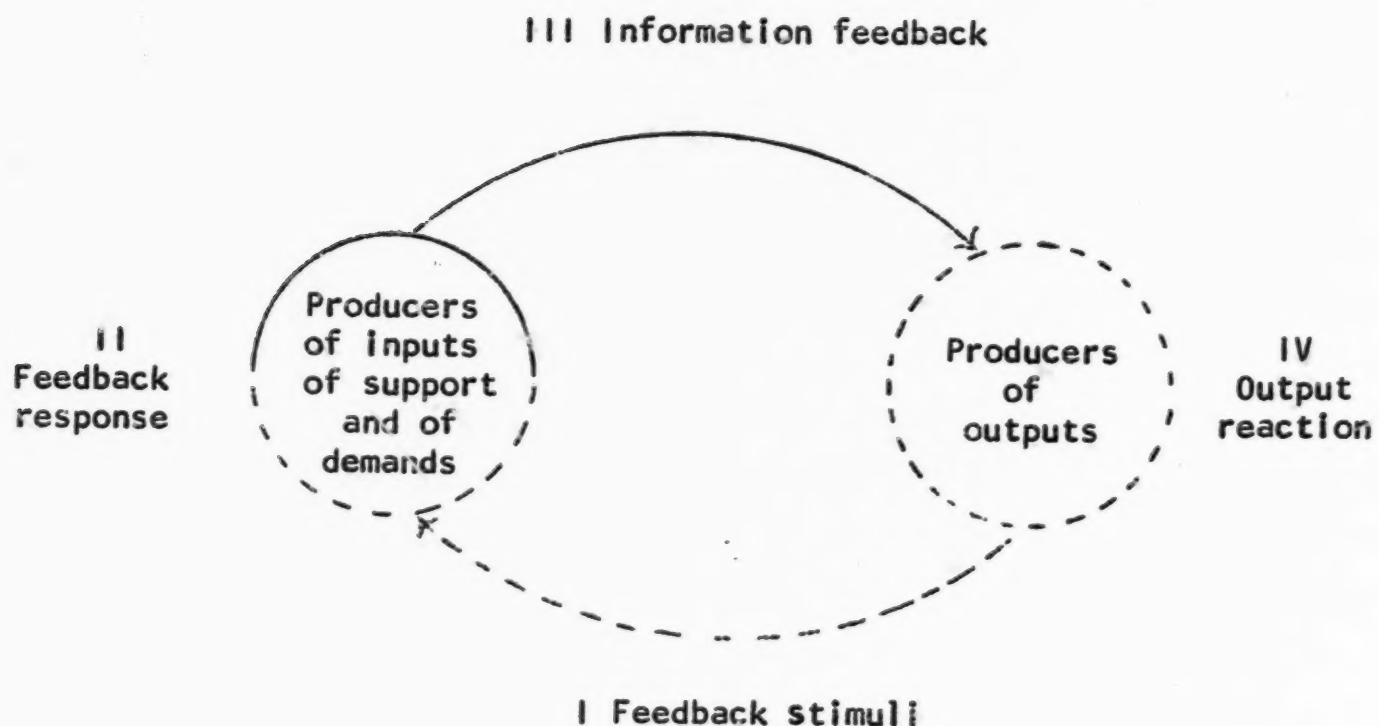


CHART 2

THE FOUR PHASES OF THE SYSTEMIC FEEDBACK LOOP

authorities may succeed in generating specific support for the political objects, it is appropriate to begin by examining the way in which outputs act as stimuli in the feedback process so that they may lead members to increase or reduce their input of support. I have labeled this Phase I of the feedback loop.

Feedback stimuli refer to a pattern of outputs over an interval of time. Through mediated or direct perception and experiences, the members receive outputs as stimuli. At any moment they may not and need not view outputs as

the basis for offering or withholding support, but we can expect that their sentiments toward the various objects in the system will be affected by outputs over a period of time. Accordingly, the stimulus in the next stage of the feedback cycle is an accumulated series of experienced outcomes.

The Feedback Response

The success or failure of outputs in winning the support of members depends upon the extent to which the outputs--both perceived outputs and experienced outcomes from unperceived outputs--are able to meet the current demands by preventing grievances from arising. Satisfaction derived from outputs that have met present or anticipated demands serves as a major means for inducing the input of specific support. Feedback stimuli consequently have a decisive effect on the succeeding input of demands as well as on the input of support; these inputs thus become closely intertwined.

The determination of the degree of feedback response, in terms of negative or positive support for the objects of a system, is not a simple matter. Yet judgments about the effects of feedback stimuli are constantly being made in practical political situations. What is clear is that outputs do not need to satisfy all of the members all of the time, or even most of the members most of the time. To maintain a level of support within the viable range of the system, the feedback stimuli may need to satisfy only some of the members--the politically relevant or influential ones in the system--some of the time.

Information Feedback

We now proceed to the question of how information about the input of support is communicated to the authorities and how this communication influences the level of specific support. Without such information, the authorities could not determine whether their prior outputs had achieved an effect, either negative or positive, and they would not know what their next steps should be. Delays and distortions in feedback response produce effects similar to the effects of ignorance.

When we examine the response phase of the systemic feedback loop, we find that it is not enough to know that the members do respond in one way or another to outputs. Their judgments about the actions of the authorities and their general attitudes toward the political objects need to be communicated to the

authorities if the latter are to be able to take relevant actions to increase the level of specific support.

Output Reaction

If information feedback is to be effective, it must enable the authorities to estimate their distance from their objectives and it must also suggest the kind of corrective actions that may be necessary to maintain a minimal level of support. The impact of the total feedback loop is, therefore, more than just a function of the adequacy of the returning information, its accuracy, or its discontinuity in time. It depends as well on whether the authorities are able and willing to react to the information in appropriate ways.

The reactions of the authorities depend initially on the degree to which they are responsive to the expressed demands. Response requires time. Authorities must show a concern for the feedback response of the politically relevant members, if they are to activate specific support, and they must act quickly enough to meet the needs of the situation.

In summary, the role of the authorities in the stimulation of specific support varies with the extent of their own responsiveness to fluctuations in demands and support as fed back from the input units, with time lags in the flow of information around the loop, with the availability of external resources, and with the kinds of native talents and organizational capabilities they possess and the storage and retrieval procedures they pursue.

As the producers of outputs the authorities represent the last link in the feedback loop. It is through their reactions to the continuous flow of information and actions through a system and its environment that a system seeks to control, regulate, modify, or fundamentally transform itself and its environment. It thereby displays variable capacities for persisting as a system that is able to perform the typical political tasks of converting wants into outputs.

Section 17

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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At present the high school civics and government courses are concerned largely with the structure of government, leaving the impression that government is something static, and providing little basis for comparison between governments and for understanding political change. To correct this situation, it may be helpful to incorporate certain new concepts of political science into high school courses. Indeed, perhaps the solution is to introduce some basic understandings of politics in elementary school.

This raises the question of how much children are able to understand about any kind of political activity and at what age levels learning about politics can begin in school. A study of learning about politics among elementary school children indicates, in part, the following:¹

1. The child's learning about politics begins in the family during the pre-school years as his basic attitudes toward authority develop.
2. The first political authorities outside the family that the child becomes aware of are such figures as policemen and the President of the United States.
3. By the time children have reached second grade (age 7), most of them have become firmly attached to their country. They know they are Americans.

¹Easton, David, and Hess, Robert D., "The Child's Political World", Midwest Journal of Political Science. VI (1962), pp. 229-246; also,

Easton, David, and Dennis, Jack, "The Child's Image of Government", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Vol. 361 (Sept. 1965), pp. 40-57.

Sigel, Roberta, Editor, "Political Socialization: It's Role in the Political Process." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 361 (September 1965).

4. As early as second grade large numbers of children identify with one of the political parties, although familiarity with the meaning of political party does not come until fourth or fifth grade.

5. By the time the child enters high school at the age of 14, his basic political orientations to the norms, attitudes, and structures of government have become quite firmly entrenched. There is evidence that during high school little substantive change may occur in these basic orientations.

The survey thus suggests that political learning begins much earlier than has been realized, and that education in the fundamentals of political processes might begin at the elementary grade level.

A systems analysis of political life might be used as a basis for teaching about the political processes to pupils in all grades, including the primary grades.² This system analysis provides us with a "map" which helps us to identify the main features of political life. The diagram gives a rough idea of the relationships of the concepts in the theory, and may be referred to as we introduce new concepts.

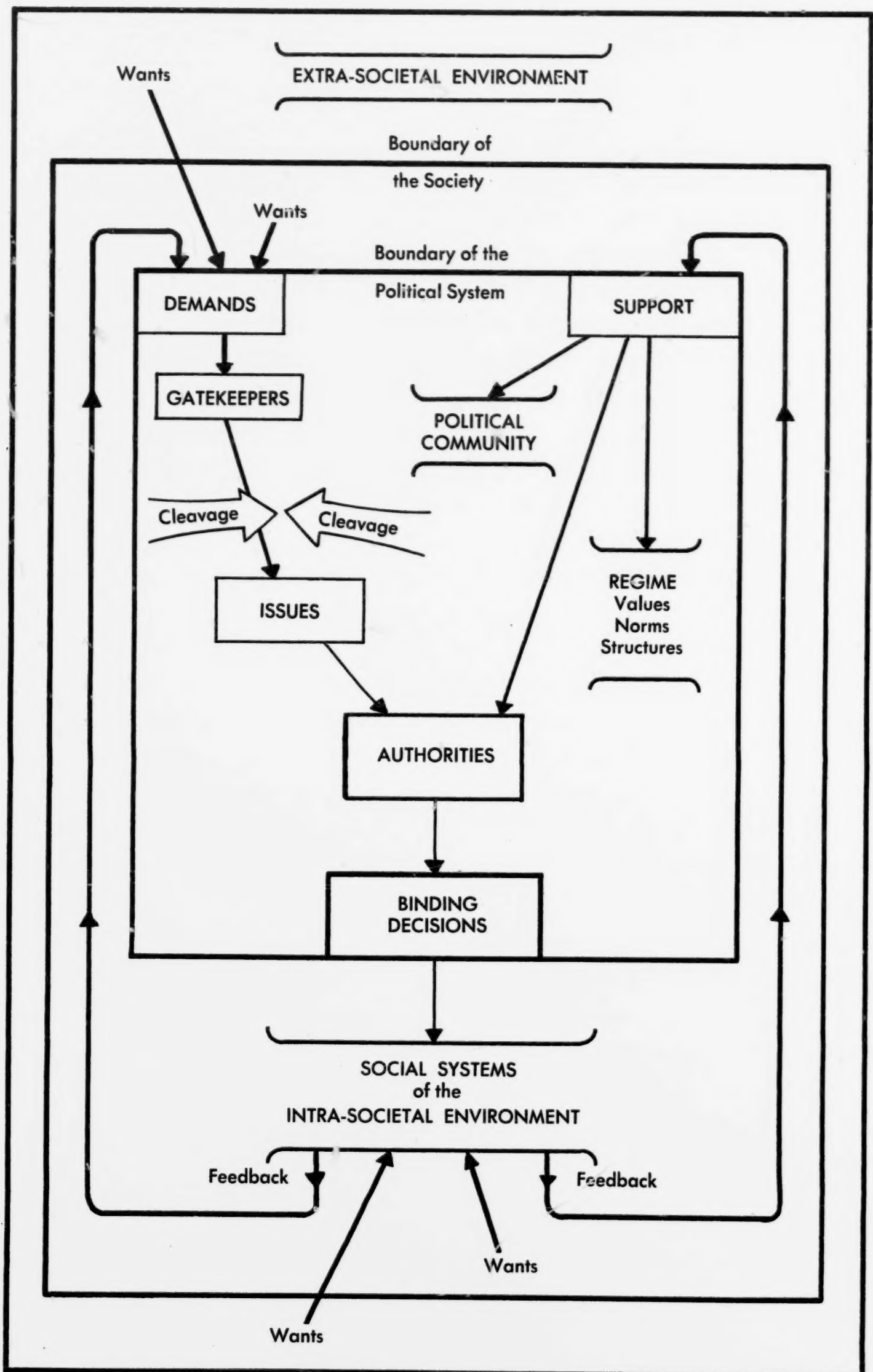
WHAT IS POLITICS?

We must begin by distinguishing the political part of social life from other parts. Every society must perform a number of basic functions in order to survive, such as replacing of members, educating each new generation, establishing goals, providing for material needs, and maintaining order. Such familiar institutions as family, school, church, industry and agriculture, and government are among those that carry out these functions.

We are concerned here with the political system. This system includes not only the government, but all aspects of political life in society. Its function is to settle differences that cannot be resolved

²This paper follows closely the work of Professor David Easton. The major presentation of Easton's theories is in his books: The Political System. New York, Alfred Knopf, 1953: A Framework for Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1965: and A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

SYSTEMS ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL LIFE



or regulated through the private efforts of the members themselves. Through laws, Presidential actions, court decisions, and the rules of regulatory agencies the political system resolves disputes which cannot be settled informally by other institutions in the society.

To put it technically, the characteristic way in which the members of society regulate their differences politically is through the authoritative allocation of valued things for the society. In this definition, valued things means things that are desired or sought after by people in the society; allocation means distribution of these valued things; and authoritative means that people in the society accept the decisions concerning the allocations of valued things. The great number of patterns of interaction --- such as voting, parties, interest groups, administration, judiciary, legislatures --- that are more or less related to the making of binding decisions for the society (that is, the authoritative allocation of valued things) constitute a political system.

This authoritative allocation of valued things which is performed by the political system will be isolated from all other systems of interaction of the society as the focus of our concern. The remaining systems such as the ecological, biological, personality, economic, cultural, etc., which are outside the boundaries of the political system and yet are within the society, constitute the intra-societal environment of the political system. On the diagram only the social systems are indicated; these include the economic, cultural, and structural systems of a society. The line forming the outer rim of the intra-societal environment separates that environment from all the systems of activity which lie outside the given society itself (e.g., international political systems, such as NATO and the UN; and international economic systems, such as the International Monetary Fund). This outermost area is identified as the extra-societal environment, that is, the sphere of relations among national societies.

Our analysis emphasizes the relationship of the political system to its environment. We will discuss: demands, one of the two major inputs from the environment into the political system; outputs, the decisions made by the authorities; support for the political system, the

other major input; and feedback, a concept which unifies our whole analysis.

DEMANDS

Demands are one of the two types of inputs from the environment into the political system. We do not call everything that is desired by the members of a society a political demand. The people of any society have innumerable expectations, interests, motivations, opinions, and preferences regarding the allocation of valued things within the society. We call these wants. Many of the wants arising from these differences can be satisfied by the family, educational, religious, or economic institutions in the intra-societal environment. But sometimes people cannot or do not want to satisfy their wants through the systems of which these institutions are part. They must then turn to the political system. What distinguishes a political from a non-political action is that the political action places authoritative obligations on all members of society --- obligations which are accepted as binding by most persons.

When people express the desire that any of their wants be satisfied authoritatively, wants leave the realm of private settlement and become a matter for the political process. We say that the wants have been transferred into political demands. Some examples of wants which the environment of the American political system has translated into political demands are: care for the aged, guarantees for the free exercise of civil rights, control of decent housing for low income families, equal educational opportunities for all, and assurance of income for the unemployed.

Demands can also arise within the political system itself when some procedural or structural modification is viewed as necessary for the system to continue functioning efficiently.

When the wants have been expressed in the form of demands and are ready to be considered by the authorities, they are often challenged or reconsidered by politically powerful members of the society who thereby act as gatekeepers. Gatekeepers form the key structural elements in determining what the raw materials of the political process will be; gatekeepers may be persons, groups of persons, communications media, etc., that have the opportunity, once a demand is moving through the

political system, to determine its destiny. A list of those performing the function of gatekeepers would include various interest groups, opinion leaders, legislators, business organizations, political parties, newspapers, and so on. As a result of the actions undertaken by gatekeepers, demands may be dropped, combined, or integrated with other demands; they may undergo revision, or be converted into formal public issues.

Sometimes the overwhelming majority of the community acts as gatekeepers. In the course of U.S. history, many political demands (e.g. demands of the Utopian socialists during and following the Jacksonian period) diminished because the political community did not feel their urgency or appropriateness.

When a demand becomes an issue, members of the political community engage in serious discussion and evaluation of its merits. Cleavages, or sharp disagreements, may appear regarding an issue, and national unity may even be challenged. When opinion is divided many ways, it may become hard for the authorities to get the approval, or even the acquiescence, of a politically relevant portion of the society to any particular decision. In this case, cleavage will strain the political system.

The strain caused by cleavage can be reduced in a number of ways. Expression of diverse views may open the way for negotiation and compromise of differences. Political parties often reduce cleavage, at least within their own ranks, when they determine their policy on various issues. Appeals by the authorities to the public interest or to a sense of national unity may also be helpful. Only when cleavages regarding a controversial issue have been reduced can the authorities act on demands and make an effective decision.

In summary, we might say that demands are to the authorities what raw materials are to a factory in the process of production. From raw materials the factory produces steel, or furniture, or cars. Likewise, from the "raw material" of political demands, the authorities make political decisions. Political life as a whole may therefore be interpreted as a means whereby demands are converted into the kind of outputs we have called authoritative allocations (binding decisions).

OUTPUTS

Just as demands are a major input to the system from the

environment, so the decisions of the authorities are the outputs that affect the environment. Outputs may take the form of legislation --- by a city council, the state assembly, or by Congress; of executive orders given by a mayor, governor, or the President; decisions of courts at any level of government; regulations determined by agencies such as the Federal Trade or Interstate Commerce Commissions; actions by the Justice Department or Post Offices; or even an order by a policeman. To refer again to our factory analogy, the political outputs are like the finished products that come out of the factory. These final political decisions correspond to the furniture and cars that the factory produces.

We will have more to say about outputs at the end of our discussion, but first we must discuss support.

SUPPORT

We have said that there is another input in addition to demands. It is support. Demands are assertions of what people want from the political system. Support concerns the degree to which they approve of the system that is processing demands for them. Support exists when a person or group acts in favor of, or is favorably oriented toward, any part of the political system. Support may be externally expressed in activities connected with organizations, and in demonstrations and parades; or it may be internal, and consist of an attitude or frame of mind such as a sense of duty or loyalty. The amount of support actually given to the political system is the net balance remaining after measuring support against opposition and indifference. This level of support may fluctuate a great deal.

Fluctuations of support may subject the political system to stress in one or more of three ways: A. Cleavages may challenge the unity of the political community; B. Confidence in the particular form of political system may be undermined; or C. Members of the society may oppose the particular people in authority. These three kinds of stress suggest three major objects of political support. These are likewise the three basic components of the political system: the political community, the regime, and the authorities. People play important roles in all three areas.

THE OBJECTS OF SUPPORT

A. The Political Community: The political community is the most inclusive group of people who share a given division of political labor. No political system can continue to operate unless its members are prepared to participate in a division of political labor through which it is possible to produce authoritative allocations of valued things. We call the group of persons who share this political division of labor in a society, the political community. In modern times the most common type of political community is the nation state. For us in the United States the political community gains its coherence from the feeling of wanting to continue together as a single unit in the political solution of our problems. The political community suffers stress when there is a drop in the level of support for it as, for example, when deep cleavages appear which cannot be resolved or reduced. The American Civil War is an example of such a cleavage. Current examples are the conflict between old tribal groups within newly emerging nations, and the wish of some French speaking people of the province of Quebec in Canada to separate Quebec from the English speaking part of the political community.

B. Regime: Regime refers to the type of political system that is shared by the political community. The regime represents expectations with regard to the range of matters that can be handled politically, the rules or norms governing the ways these matters are processed, and the powers and duties of those through whom binding decisions may be made on these matters. The regime, thus, has three components: values, norms, and structure of authority. As we discuss these components, especially the values and norms, we must keep in mind that they do not refer to something concrete the way the political community may refer to a nation state, but rather to standards of political behavior.

1. Values: Values are the broad limits with regard to what must be taken for granted in the guidance of policy if we are not to violate deep feelings of parts of the political community. Values are important because of the outer limits they impose on political action rather than because of any specific political objectives they suggest. Examples of such values in the American political system are freedom, equality of opportunity, and maximum popular participation in politics.

No society ever achieves complete unanimity in its value system so there is always the possibility of stress occurring due to conflicting values.

2. Norms: Norms are the more specific procedures that are expected and acceptable in the processing and implementing of demands and expression of support. They concern not only the actions of the authorities, but the behavior of all members of the political system. They may be called the rules of the political game. Some norms are based on custom, such as an implicit agreement that religious differences will not be raised to the level of political conflict. Other norms have a formal, legal nature, such as those contained in the Bill of Rights and Article V of the Constitution which prescribes the procedure for constitutional amendment. Loss of support or stress may occur when there is a discrepancy between the legal and customary norms, as in the case of equality before the law, which, though a legal norm, is customarily not carried out in practice for all groups in the United States. As a result, there has been serious stress in this area that could have threatened the regime with some loss of support. A formal allocation was required on the part of the federal government which guaranteed non-discrimination in education, public facilities, and voting.

3. Structure of Authority: The structure of authority specifies the roles and relationships through which power and authority are distributed and exercised. It is the form of the government. Such alternatives as presidential versus parliamentary systems, alternative kinds of civil service systems, and the relation of the armed forces to political power are included in focus here. A typical example of collapse of support for the structure of authority is the alternating disillusionment in France with parliamentary and single-ruler (non presidential) systems.

In the United States, many issues are raised concurrently that challenge the structure of authority; e.g. the debates of the political community concerning the quasi-legislative power of the Supreme Court, the independent policy of the Federal Reserve System, the role of the President's Economic Council as a partisan body, and the power of the Executive to make unilateral decisions.

C. Authorities: The most concrete component in the political system is that of the authorities. They are the men who occupy the roles established in the structure of authority. They govern. They must be

able to mobilize enough support for themselves to have the power and authority to formulate and implement decisions they make. Stress for the authorities may consist of the refusal by some portion of the society to accept their right to rule. The right of Congress to impeach the President of the United States is an example.

Political community, regime (consisting of values, norms, and structure of authority), and authorities are thus the basic components of the political system. In discussing support, we must always consider what part of the system is being supported or stressed through erosion of support. Likewise, when we speak of the problem of persistence of a political system, we do not think only in terms of the extreme alternatives of no change at all versus complete breakdown that leads to the collapse of society. Rather, we consider persistence as a separate, though related problem for each component of the political system.

Now that the objects which must be supported have been described, and examples given of possible stress for each object, we can specify two kinds of support that underpin the authorities, regime and political community. Specific Support is generated when outputs are perceived by members of the political system as meeting their demands. Their immediate satisfaction results in specific support. This support is generally directed to the authorities, though in addition it may overflow from them to the regime and the political community. Thus, if people are regularly satisfied with what a government does, we can assume that they will not be inclined to withdraw their support from the form of the political system (regime) or from the group with whom they are sharing their political labor (the political community).

Diffuse Support is not based on the satisfaction of particular demands, but rather it is built up out of a general feeling of goodwill towards the political system. Regardless of what specific and identifiable benefits a member may feel he gets out of a political system, he may develop a generally favorable disposition toward it. Patriotism, loyalty or attachment roughly express the kind of sentiment referred to here. These feelings tend more to be directed to the community and regime though from there they may overflow into the authority level.

Diffuse support is very important when the authorities must make decisions that are unpopular, not only in a time of war, famine, or other national disaster, but on a day-to-day basis in the form, for example, of unwanted taxes or forms of regulated behavior. But though diffuse support is not tied to particular outputs, a long period of output failure may stress it. In the face of such stress the authorities may seek to generate goodwill by (1) instilling a deep sense of legitimacy, showing that they hold office and make decisions within the norms and structure set forth in the regime; (2) invoking symbols such as the flag or national anthem to stimulate in the members feelings of loyalty, or (3) strengthening the degree of identification by members of the system with the political community through an awareness of some common interest of the society.

FEEDBACK

Now that we have discussed support, we are ready to return to outputs, and unify our whole conception of the political system by discussing outputs in terms of feedback. If a political system is to function normally, most members will have to accept the outputs of the authorities most of the time. Except in cases of coercion this acceptance requires a fairly high level of support, which in turn depends on the quality of previous outputs; we must remember that even diffuse support will lapse if there is output failure over a long period. We must note an important circularity here. Effective outputs depend on support which depends on effective outputs which depends on support, etc.

This circularity brings us to the central dynamic concept of our analysis, feedback. When we say that the political system is a feedback system, we mean that it is self-regulating. It is a system that produces outputs in response to an input, a demand, and includes the results of its own previous outputs in the calculations by which it determines its subsequent outputs. This means that political life forms a kind of system of behavior that can learn from experience. If a system responds to a demand with a particular output and the demand continues, it may learn through information fed back to the authorities that the original output was inadequate and it may try another one. By considering the successes or failures of its own action through feedback the authorities acting for a system can shape its outputs with reference not only to

present demands, but also with reference to how well previous outputs have satisfied such demands. The concept of feedback means that the political system need not be passive in the face of change in its environment. It adapts to change, and can thereby persist in the face of change.

The feedback loop on the diagram is indicated by the line leading from "Binding Decisions" to "Social Systems" and, through "Wants", back to "Demand", at which point the political process begins again. This feedback loop represents the idea that each new output is made not only as a response to a single demand but to a whole previous cycle of inputs and outputs and possibly even many such cycles.

Over a period of time it is possible to see changes in the political system which result from feedback. During the Great Depression, reliance on market forces to reestablish a fully employed economy proved inadequate. The measures which Congress passed in the hope of correcting the situation proved ineffective. More radical measures were demanded. The demands to stimulate agriculture, business, and industry, and the demand from the federal government to create work for the unemployed challenged not only the administration (authorities) but also the norms, values, and the structures on which our political system has been based. The feedback process of the 1930's resulted in a change in the power relationship between local, state, and federal governments.

The conception of politics as a feedback system focuses our attention on the great cycle of inputs and outputs. It allows us to see the political system as a vast conversion process that regulates itself in order to persist. And this idea of persistence brings us back to the function of the political system: to regulate conflict in society by authoritatively allocating valued things over which there would be uncontrolled dispute. Beyond making such allocations at a particular point in time, it is clearly the function of the political system to persist in its order-maintaining role as long as the society itself persists, and even to help prolong the life of the society through its own persistence. Our conception of political life as a feedback process focuses our attention on this basic persistence problem.

The task of the schools, it is reasonable to suggest, is to emphasize fundamental processes and relationships rather than isolated, separate facts. If, as shown earlier in this article, students are indeed ready for the study of political life at a much earlier age than has previously been thought to be the case, then this theory of the political system may offer a useful coherent and systematic theoretical basis for the presentation of political materials in the elementary school.

Section 18

ANTHROPOLOGY

Paul Bohannon
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FOREWORD

Professor Bohannon's paper, Anthropology, was written as part of a curriculum project supported by a developmental contract of the United States Office of Education, made with Purdue University for the Social Science Education Consortium. This project was directed by Lawrence Senesh, Professor of Economic Education at Purdue.

The purpose of the project was to outline the major concepts, structure and methods of several of the social sciences in a way that will be useful to persons concerned with either teaching or constructing new curriculum approaches and materials in which one or more social science disciplines has a prominent place. Papers similar to this one on anthropology have been written for sociology, economics, geography, and political science.

Professor Senesh's immediate concern was to construct a broad curriculum outline for Grades K-6. However, the materials on the disciplines should be useful to teachers and curriculum workers at all levels.

Irving Morrisett

March, 1966

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ANTHROPOLOGY

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The Relation of Anthropology to the Social Sciences

Anthropology is less a subject than a holding company. There is no part of its theory or outlook that is not shared with some other discipline; yet it does not hold a controlling interest in any discipline--it has, to round off the metaphor, a balanced portfolio.

Claude Levi-Strauss, the well known French anthropologist, has noted (1963) that anthropology deals with the "unconscious" structuring of social and cultural life, through the conscious processes that are history. There are two fundamental types of the socio-cultural "unconscious": one is the way in which social and cultural systems work from day to day, and the other is the way in which evolution works and changes the individual and his institutions. The two are, at one level, a single process, but they can profitably be disconnected for purposes of analysis. To give examples, the "economy" as a social phenomenon was discovered as a system of regularities in social and cultural life in the 18th century. The "society" was discovered later, first as a residual category of "economy." The polity (which goes back to the Greeks) was eroded by removal of "economy" and "society." The idea of "culture" came late--in the latter part of the 19th century, from Germany via Mathew Arnold and E. B. Tylor (Stocking 1963). All of these discoveries were comparable to the "unconscious" structures in a language--phonemics and grammar. A speaker of a language does not have to know the grammar of it to speak it "correctly." But a linguist has to know about grammar and phonemics in order sensibly to analyze language and communication, and thus to know one important aspect of the human condition.

All social sciences are seeking the secrets of the "unconscious" structuring of human life. Some are like grammarians, some are like phonologists, some are like transformationalists (to maintain the metaphor); but the anthropologist is a linguist. He must take all these other topics into consideration; he is interested in the ways that they influence one another, and in the totality of human life, society, and culture.

Obviously, one cannot be interested in "everything," but one can be interested in the processes and structures that are involved in and lead to everything human.

Anthropology is thus constantly in touch with the other disciplines. And yet it is ironic that anthropology's greatest contributions have arisen through superseding the insights of other disciplines, and thereby changing them to a degree. Anthropology has been a "source discipline" for most of the behavioral sciences; present-day academic psychology, as opposed to psychiatry, is the obvious exception. Anthropology has also borrowed from the other disciplines, but not as much as they have borrowed from anthropology. To put it another way, anthropological discoveries and insights are constantly and rapidly diffused into other disciplines. The changes that they work there are then fed back. Sociology would be vastly different today had Linton (1936) not formalized status-and-role theory. Indeed, I have seen sociology defined in a sociology textbook as the science of culture, and it is fairly common for sociologists to start with value orientations, a branch of the subject heavily influenced by anthropology. Many respected anthropologists and historians have indicated in one way or another that anthropology and history are the same thing, seen from slightly different angles.

(Kroeber 1944; Evans-Pritchard 1950; Levi-Strauss 1963; Bloch 1953; Carr 1961.)

Within our own time, when economics has made major commitments to the theory of economic development, the interest in and knowledge of anthropological matters among economists has grown apace, and with economic historians (read "economic anthropologists") such as Karl Polanyi (1944; 1957; 1966), these two disciplines find more and more areas in common. The nature of political science was very considerably changed in the years during and following World War II, when political scientists discovered the "field" and began to do their field work in a more or less anthropological way. Many departments of political science in America today employ part-time or full-time anthropologists; there are, in many political science texts and readers, chapters dealing with political matters among non-Western peoples, and these lean heavily on anthropological insights.

Psychiatry owes to anthropology a concern with cultural variation and ethnocentrism. The whole idea of patterned growth and development that Freud began has, through Erickson (1950) and other anthropologically sophisticated men, grown to a new form. Conversely, the anthropological theory of personality

is almost wholly psychiatric--indeed, Freudian, with the greatest influence coming, perhaps, from Sullivan.

Biology is one of the precursors of modern anthropology (along with history and museology). Today, anthropologists know more about comparative primatology than anyone else; they have made important contributions to serology, dentition, growth theory, and human evolution and genetics. Geography today leans as heavily on anthropology as on meteorology and geology.

Thus anthropology occupies a key position in the behavioral sciences and in the humanities. I am not saying that anthropology is the "queen science," for there is no such subject. What I am saying is that anthropology provides a broad view of human behavior, that it is necessarily eclectic, and that it is a holding company of ideas and theories shared with many disciplines.

Anthropology in the Schools

The relation of anthropology to other social sciences is of importance in the educational world because anthropology--at least, its subject matter--is already in the schools. Students in all but the most backward and deprived schools learn somewhere about Eskimos, Pygmies, Indians, and Orientals. Many also learn, if there is no religious or bigoted objection, about the development of early man. Indeed, Louis S. B. Leakey has become a hero to much of the fifth grade population of the United States.

Anthropologists interested in elementary and secondary school education need not so much introduce a subject as improve the material that is there and, even more important, improve the use made of this material by teachers.

Teachers of elementary and secondary schools often use anthropological materials for ends that actually pervert the subject. One misguided end is a sort of jingoistic Westernism: primitive man becomes a sort of measure of scale, in terms of which we can congratulate ourselves; stated boldly, "only we have 'culture.'" In the hands of a teacher who doesn't take care, or doesn't know, anthropology can become the instrument for promoting the very ethnocentrism it seeks to eliminate.

It is also possible to lean too far backwards: it is a pity, but it is nevertheless true, that moral relativism is not contradictory to ethnocentrism. Anthropology has long stood for what its practitioners have called by the not-very-satisfactory name of "cultural relativism." By this they

meant that in order to make a judgment about a cultural institution, a custom, or an individual, it is necessary to assume premises that are, necessarily, culture-bound. The interpretation of that viewpoint by liberals who lack adequate training in anthropology is too often that "their way" is as "good" as "our way." Such is the misunderstanding. The word "good" is the problem; students must be taught to make intellectual commitments to their culture instead of merely emotional commitments. In the process they must be taught that other ways are not better, worse, or anything of the sort, but rather that all mankind is involved in the task of improving the quality of social and cultural life, and that we had better pool our discoveries and stop calling names. There will never occur a single culture throughout all the peoples of the earth. There will always be differences of opinion and different ways of experiencing life. And it is out of these very differences that change, progress, and greater comfort emerge. Resolution of conflict is the very essence of human achievement.

Anthropology is also a way of looking at things. Although not just a methodology, anthropology is nevertheless a way of viewing phenomena and men. Anthropology is interested in the variety of ways that human beings live; in the many ways of being human; and in the range of possible behavior and culture that allow men to survive under a variety of conditions. The similarities or universals of human behavior are of somewhat less interest than are the differences. The universals, once they are known, provide only a better framework on which the anthropologist can pin his questions about the differences.

Anthropology finds the theories and methods of all the other social sciences more or less inadequate, principally because of the ethnocentrism inherent in most explanations of human situations that are not cross-cultural. Nevertheless, it does not needlessly contradict the other social sciences; and because of its close relationship to all of them, it is a good underpinning for social studies and history in the schools. It is vital to geography at the elementary level, and it can be included with profit in first grade studies about families, second grade studies about communities, and in most of the other social studies topics. It can also be taught as an independent subject; one school I know has had a successful sixth grade course in anthropology for years.

In liberal education of the nineteenth century, the study of the classics gave students a view of cultures other than their own. Today anthropology plays a similar role. By giving students accurate and extensive information about other cultures, it stretches their experiences by putting them into a more nearly total context.

An Anthropological View of Man

Anthropologists must, of course, have opinions and views about man--his qualities and abilities. So, of course, must every man who lives in society. That fact sometimes fosters the impression that every man is his own specialist. But every man is likely to confuse his own experience with the experience of mankind, and therefore his view of man is limited by himself. There is, springing from the same source, a common criticism of anthropology and other social sciences that "terms should be defined" and that "social scientists should sit down together and be sure that they are all talking about the same thing." Such critical statements miss the point. We actually have the greater part of our view of man in common, but in so complex a subject there are many places to begin and many emphases that can appear as differences. Some of my colleagues would begin in different places or take different perspectives. But we would, I think, be at one in assuring the general reader that, far from being a stumbling block, this kind of diversity is the very stuff of social science. Therefore, every view is "one man's view" and to attempt anything else would be to water down the substance.

If anthropology is to live up to its name, its subject matter must necessarily accord with the qualities of the human beings that are its object matter. The more good anthropology is done, the better these qualities are understood. Therefore, the very success of anthropologists ultimately refines and changes the nature of the conceptions about the creature being studied, and so changes the nature of the subject.

Anthropology must concern itself with at least four aspects of the nature of the human animal, and with the requisite conditions that must be fulfilled if that animal is to continue to exist as an organism and to survive as a phylum.* These four aspects are the biotic, the psychic, the social, and

*The word "phylum" is used here in a non-technical sense to mean the "chain" of human descent, and the "network" of shared descent.

the cultural. The four aspects appear in two modes: one in association with contemporary or historical individuals, the other in association with the phylum of mankind and its place in the development of terrestrial life. Anthropologists must have information concerning and theories about the human soma, the human personality, human society and human culture. They must, equally importantly, have information and theories about the evolution of man, the development of his sensory capacities, his developing social organizations, and his evolving culture.

To repeat in different words, we must know man's physical capacities and dimensions; his psychic realization of his organism and its surroundings; his associations with other creatures of his species; and his modes of communication and interaction with those others and with the environment. We must also know the evolution of man's physical and external capacities; the development through generations of his perceptions; the principles on which he has organized; and the growth of his culture and of his capacity for culture.

I shall begin with the position known in anthropology as functionalism and shall go on to evolutionary theory; it is a major achievement of the last decade for anthropologists to discover that these two theories are of a piece. Functional theory proceeds from the proposition that the human organism has certain needs that must be met if it is to survive. The very meeting of those needs creates social groups, which themselves have needs (usually called "requisites") if they are to survive, and so on to the entirety of the human phylum. All these needs, of the individual, the social group, and the phylum, are met by culture. Personality is (among other things) the culture of the individual; the "tradition" is what I shall call the culture of any definite social group, and "cultural evolution" is the experience of the phylum.

(1) Human beings are mammals. Chemical and genetic processes are essential to the creation and maintenance of human life. These processes are of two sorts: those attributes that are necessary to every living individual and, therefore, necessary to the phylum of mankind, and those that are dispensable in some individuals but necessary to the phylum. Those processes that are requirements for the continued existence of the individual are experienced as needs. Those that are necessary for the continued existence of the phylum and not necessarily of the individual, are experienced as forces some of which can be called "drives."

In the individual, chemical and genetic processes result in euphoria if the organism is well and healthy. Conversely, the presence of physical or mental disease causes these processes to be felt as pain (including anxiety). This euphoria also relies on life processes that proceed under definite, extremely limited environmental conditions such as regular intake of food, maintenance of equable temperature, absence of parasites, limited range of radiation, adequate sleep and dreams, adequate social orbit, and satisfying cultural tradition.

(2) Human beings are social animals. All animals are social to the extent that their survival is furthered by a social system. As a sexually reproducing animal, the individual is necessarily social to a degree sufficient to permit sexual relations and the necessary minimal care of the young.

In addition, the more an individual's existence depends on chemical interaction (as in ants) or on learning (as in human beings), the greater will be the degree of sociality. Interaction with others satisfies individual needs and phyletic drives. Ultimately, the satisfactions derived from the social situation give rise to a "stable" social system, almost as an epiphenomenon.

(3) Human beings interact by means of culture. In the process of satisfying individual needs, human beings have come to specialize in the learning process as a mode of survival. All animals learn, but learning has in man led to the hyperdevelopment of the brain and the central nervous system. Development of the brain has, in processes of natural selection, given the advantage to more intelligent creatures. Intelligence, as a capacity to learn, grows in accordance with the capacity to communicate, which communication changes the quality of social interaction.

As the human capacity for learning developed, culture "grew." Learning and evolutionary specialization form a spiral: the more man depends on learning, the more he is free of other evolutionary forces; and at the same time, the more dependent he becomes on learning the mass of object matter that allows successful social interaction.

The individual, through the learning process, must acquire a specific cultural tradition in order to achieve predictability in the satisfaction of his needs. He will perceive this tradition (a) as a set of "values" in terms of which to judge his own behavior and that of others, and (b) as a set

of techniques by means of which the future can be more or less assured. The greater the amount of tradition to be learned, the greater will be the degree of "division of tasks," and therefore of "specialization," occurring within a social group. The student of anthropology sees such a tradition as a specific and systematized set of "patterns of culture." Human beings thus learn a tradition (a few may learn more than one), and their behavior in terms of it is culture.

It is convenient to use the word "tradition" for a particular set of manifestations of culture, with particular boundaries that refer to a social group or a particular time; the term "culture" will be used more generally to refer to the whole set of phenomena, including all the traditions. Similarly, we shall refer to a "social group" as a particular subset or subgroup of all the phenomena included in "society."

Culture supersedes any specific set of human beings, while any tradition of it can be given manifest reality only in their activity. Culture is thus superorganic in the sense that it is independent of any particular individuals. It is "organic" because it is, as tradition, dependent for its manifestations on some individuals. This "fertile dilemma" is one of the vital sources of anthropological thinking.

Each human individual, with his particular genetic and somatic endowment, is subjected to a unique series of events, while simultaneously undergoing physical maturation and training in a necessarily limited tradition. This fact (together with physical endowment) results in the individual having his own distinct personality while simultaneously holding many personality features in common with others. Any tradition that is learned by many human individuals becomes subdivided so that no single individual learns all of the single tradition, thus increasing the dependence of all individuals on social relationships.

As human beings evolved, physical and cultural evolution became so intertwined as to form a single continuing process. It is only recently that man has grasped the concept of the physical-cultural evolution of the phylum. Even more recent is man's awareness that he may have some power over the course of that evolutionary process--determining in a degree the immediate course of physical-cultural evolution--even, perhaps, determining whether the phylum will survive.

Needs and Need Satisfaction

These statements about the nature of man, society, and culture can be redrawn as a set of individual and phyletic needs that must be met if human life is to continue--a "functionalist" position. Functionalism means two things: every piece of a tradition, and hence all culture, is a need-fulfilling apparatus and every piece of any given tradition is in a systematic state of interdependence with other pieces of that tradition.

I am unimpressed with arguments attacking the "mere" functionalist position on the ground either that it excludes such areas of human life as art, play and language, or on the ground that one item in a tradition is not causally related to some other item of that tradition at a superficial level. New theories of dreaming arising from studies in dream deprivation may ultimately lead us to see even more clearly that societies must have play in order to survive; and Levi-Strauss' suggestions that the structure of culture is "unconscious" and that we are only just beginning to learn about it have already taken care of the "causal" argument.

It may, on the other hand, be true that functionalism alone--like any single theory alone--is inadequate to all problems in social science. But it is not wrong in any; no view of man, society and culture yet devised can ignore functionalist premises.

It might be appropriate to consider more closely some human activities that, in the past, have been difficult to understand or even to justify in terms of a need theory. These activities center around decoration, something done in every tradition of the world. The term "decoration" includes art and the universal human activity of play. The American tradition is perhaps less well equipped to examine the needs for art and play than are other traditions because we have long valued and glorified "work" and "progress" while simultaneously denigrating play and calling art a "luxury" that has no "economic" value. These attitudes are disappearing, but are still found in high concentrations.

It seems, however, that one need go no further than Sullivan's psychiatry to see that these needs are as fundamentally human as are any other. The need to decorate is an expression of the need to communicate to significant others and to find pleasure and individuality in the things that are extensions of self. Sullivan's insights and later laboratory research have proved con-

clusively that human beings must dream in order to survive, and that dreaming is obviously a way of fulfilling certain psychic needs that are not fulfilled in waking life, because of the very adjustment that one makes to the milieu in which one finds oneself. It seems worth investigating the proposition that play stands to social adjustment in somewhat the same relationship that dreams stand to psychic adjustment. Art is a mode of communication expressing the unfulfilled or the joy of fulfillment; play is a mode of establishing positions and human contacts that are impossible in the more complex and uncharted world of reality.

Another important point about needs will emerge quickly in any empirical context: the very satisfaction of human needs requires conditions that themselves have needs. Satisfaction of these "derived needs" produces still more needs, in a never-ending process. For example, if it is the function of economics to study the choices men make to satisfy needs, it is the function of anthropologists to point out that their very choices create new needs in a never-ending process of expansion of individual needs and derivative social requisites.

We are now prepared to consider a more exact listing of needs. Of course, any specific list will be inadequate for some purposes. Classifying needs is something like classifying races: it can be done only on the basis of prototypes--or, indeed, of stereotypes--each of which exhibits a range that merges into all the others. Classifying needs is difficult or unrewarding only if the classifier thinks in terms of boundaries between exclusive categories. If he looks at central types there is no problem. The fact that one specific listing or classification of needs differs from another is thus not so important as the fact that they will cover the same ground. Obviously, it is possible to correlate and classify needs in any way that a specific investigator sees fit in the light of his problem; it is possible to add needs, subdivide them, coalesce them, etc. No list of human needs or social requisites can be definitive except in the light of a specific problem.

In the following list, it should be noted that institutions which fulfill needs usually fulfill several; human beings use existing institutions for as many purposes as possible.

(1) Human beings need food and the means of maintaining an equable temperature. They need sleep. Fulfilling these needs and those of the

institutions connected with these needs requires an economic system.

(2) Human beings--at least a significant number in any population--need sexual activity and must breed. The cultural response has been to create a family system, or some substitute, which controls sexuality and insures procreation.

(3) Human beings are born helpless and, therefore, must be given an opportunity to learn. This demands the establishment of educational or socialization systems and a teachable cultural tradition.

(4) Human beings need other human beings in order to satisfy their requirements; they must have a social system.

(5) Human beings need learnable and understandable symbols in terms of which they can communicate with "significant others" in the social system. Consequently, systems of language and art arise.

(6) Human beings need predictability in social relationships and in the non-human environment. This need is met by rank or status systems, as well as family and kinship systems. They also develop political systems to control power in social relationships, and systems of science and religion to investigate the regularities of the non-human as well as human world.

(7) Human beings need overt goals--including rewards, or lack of punishment--in order to find ways of satisfying their own needs. This gives rise to value systems.

(8) Human beings need security; they must be able to express their feelings to at least a minimal degree, and they must have means of conquering fears. This leads to the creation of an overall philosophy, overt or covert, which organizes and makes sense of the other systems. The analyst sees this as an "ethos."

The eight groups of needs that have just been described are fulfilled through various systems or social structures, some of which have been described along with the needs to which they are related. Within these social structures, individuals engage in repetitive behavior in the course of fulfilling these needs and there is much similarity of behavior among individuals. From the standpoint of the actor, such repetition assures predictable response and can be viewed as a set of habits. From the standpoint of the investigator, these same activities are the patterns of culture that we call traditions.

In summary, man is a mammal with important distinguishing characteristics.

He is also a social animal, as all mammals are social, at least to the extent of mating and rearing young. But man is a social animal with a difference: his sociality has come to depend on an intricate system of communication and of fulfillment of complex derived needs. He is a social mammal who has specialized, in the evolutionary sense, in learning and in the cultural survival that goes with it.

Having discussed the nature of man's needs, we turn now to a more detailed analysis of the consequences of man's efforts to fulfill these needs. We shall consider the principle ramifications of these efforts for the individual personality, for society, for culture.

Human Personality

Man, in the course of evolution, has specialized in refinement of the brain and central nervous system. Such a specialization requires cultural learning as the basic controlling factor of behavior rather than some simpler chemical reaction, as in ants, or some simpler form of learning, such as imprinting in birds. All behavior in any species probably includes a chemical base and some imprinting, but the mix of these elements is vastly different. For example, Wragge Morley, in experiments with Scottish brown ants, discovered that if the eggs of a colony are removed and the young ants brought up in isolation, they will be able to carry on, but that it takes three or four generations to get back the total complexity of the parent colony (lecture at Oxford, 1948). Human beings, or birds, could not carry on. Obviously, birds also learn. A few can even learn to "talk." Just as obviously, there is a chemistry behind human behavior, as drug experiments have so vividly demonstrated, and there is an element of imprinting in the learning of human infants and of oedipal-phase children--and perhaps in other stages. But every functioning human being must depend on primarily the kind of learning associated with culture, which means that he must learn a tradition. Man perishes if he is not taught a tradition.

Because of the biotic specialization that man has developed in the evolutionary process, he can be viewed as a creature thrust into the world untaught, and therefore helpless. His plasm lacks the ability to survive on the basis of mere chemical responses. Compared to other mammals, man is born at a comparatively early stage of his biotic development. A larger head, presumably, con-

taining a more developed brain, would interfere with the birth processes. Following an early birth, extra-uterine learning can start at a comparatively early stage, thus reinforcing the basic advantage.

Obviously, however, such a creature is helpless at birth--probably more nearly totally helpless than the young of any other mammal, save perhaps marsupials, who move from an internal to an external womb. Therefore, birth must turn a biotic relationship between dam and offspring into a social relationship between the needer and the provider. Man needs not only a tradition, but a teacher. The mother-child relationships, in short, is the prototype of the human relationship. Like all prototypes, it leaves its traces on all subsequent relationships.

In the first weeks and months of extra-uterine life, a child's needs are best fulfilled by a single individual--the "mother figure," who is usually, but obviously need not be, the biotic mother. In the process of receiving, of having needs assuaged, the child establishes habits that are formed by the particular ways in which his needs are fulfilled. At one level, these habits are a part of the tradition which he has begun to internalize, and will use throughout his life; at another level, they create and reinforce a set of derived demands that he will make on the world and on significant other persons in his world. The relationship with the mother-figure is of prime importance because it determines not only the content, but also the style or tone of fulfillment. The style and tone can be changed later in life, but only with difficulty and through highly refined processes of subsequent learning, of which psychoanalysis is a vivid example.

Also within the mother-child relationship another development takes place: the child must make demands if he is to be nurtured, but he must make concessions to the counter-demands of the nurturer. He experiences the feeling that arises from the latter situation as a need for love and acceptance. Therefore, the personality of the child is molded from a "mix": a need for self-assertion and a need for love and affection. The mother, particularly, controls this "mix," but at the same time the behavior of mothers is conditioned by the tradition, within limits that allow for survival of the child and its development at least to the point of becoming a parent. Actually, children are taught to be parents while they are still children, and in this way emotional tones enter cultural traditions, and the cycle of personality development and maintenance

continues through generations of cultured social life.

Social Groups

As we have seen, human needs must be satisfied with the help of other people. Stated another way, human beings engage in social relationships, and since no single relationship can for long fulfill all human needs, each person enters into many relationships, with many people. Although Robinson Crusoe is theoretically possible, it must be remembered that in Defoe's morality tale Crusoe grew up in a society in which he was loved; he was taught a tradition and was given a personality strong enough to endure the agony of solitude. Few human beings can survive for long when they are totally cut off from human society, even though many need a degree of privacy, which is quite a different matter.

Thus, social relationships, as the devices by which biological and derived needs are fulfilled, are played out with other human beings. If the social relationships work at all, a set of expectations about the nature of his own action and that of the "other" builds up in each of the persons engaged in the relationship. These expectations and their fulfillment, or partial fulfillment, however, lead to a new situation. In order for fulfillment to be achieved, the relationship itself has certain requisite conditions. Thus, ironically, the process starts all over again: relationships have needs that are analogous to the needs of people. Choices among needs create further needs.

The social relationship is a unit in the way that a person is a unit, but it is necessary to make a series of qualifications and explanations in order for this analogy to be fully appreciated. A human creature is a single biological organism encased in a skin; it is quite easy to tell where one human unit starts and another stops, because of this "skin-boundary."

A social relationship exists between one set of expectations and behavior on the part of one human being and a complementary set of expectations and behavior on the part of another. The relationship does not encompass all of the behavior, feelings, or potential of either of the individuals, but only a relatively small part of them.

This relatively small part of the total behavior of an individual, if it is repeated and hence patterned, and if it forms a set of expectations on the part of another person, can be called a "role." In any relationship, roles

must be at least partly complementary. These complementary roles, made up of expectations, join together to form a social relationship called a dyad, or two-group. The expectations that make up the roles of the dyad must be held in two minds. There must be a sufficient complementarity in the expectations to allow at least an adequate fulfillment of some of the needs of the two persons who play the roles in the two-group.

The two-group has several requirements for its existence which are analogous to, but different from, the needs of the single human organism. First of all, a two-group must always have a spatial location. Human animals are limited in the amount and kind of space through which they can communicate.

A two-group also requires predictability, of two different kinds. We have already noted that each role player holds in his mind certain expectations of his own as well as of the other person's behavior, and that if the complementarity decreases, predictability decreases with it so that the relationship flounders in misunderstanding. In addition, however, the expectations in the two-group must be a part of a larger predictable tradition, which gives the dyad the security its role-players need. Therefore, security in an enveloping social structure and tradition is a requirement for most dyadic relationships.

In a way much like that in which two-groups satisfy the needs of individuals and thereby create requisite conditions or needs for themselves to exist, so too these derivative requisites must be satisfied. They are in fact satisfied by the concatenation of several two-groups or individuals into larger social groups. To take the most obvious example: in the early months of a child's life, his needs are satisfied in the dyadic relationship with a mother-figure who might indeed be called the "general-purpose significant other." However, the mother's needs are not all satisfied by the child. In addition, the requirements of the mother-child relationship for the nurturing of the mother, and even for temperature and air demands of the child, as well as those for space and predictability, are satisfied outside this particular two-group.

Thus two-groups cluster, and the needs of each are met by other two-groups. Just as the individual personality and the two-group are manifested in culture, larger social groups are also made manifest in culture.

Two-groups are, then, the basic device for the satisfaction of human needs. A two-group consists of two roles and those common understandings or characteristic parts of a tradition that are the basis for the complementary expectations.

But we have already seen that, except perhaps in earliest infancy, any specific role engages only a portion of the personal experience, capability, and needs of the person who is playing the role. Obviously, then, it can satisfy only a portion of the individual's total needs.

Thus, every individual must engage in more than one dyadic relationship. In fact, every individual becomes a node at which many two-groups meet; he plays many roles, with many different "others." In such a situation, some conditions must be met: one of them is that the roles which a person plays must not be so contradictory as to destroy the web of his personality. Much mental illness arises from insecurity and inactivity in the face of role conflict or contradiction. This does not mean that people cannot play roles that are contradictory, but only that the resulting conflict must not become too severe in any specific situation, or the contradiction destroy his personality integration. A person can switch from one role to another; he cannot, however, play two roles successfully at the same time if they are too blatantly contradictory. It is precisely the simultaneity of role playing that causes extended social groups to differ from two-groups. Extended social groups demand common understandings more abstract than those of complementary expectations.

Interlocking two-groups form more complex social groups that are ultimately made up of large numbers of dyads. These dyads are like building blocks, fitted together in such a way that they can perform necessary functions without falling to pieces on the basis of role conflict. An analogy to molecular structure is tempting.

It is well to note here, before proceeding to larger social groups, that any individual may, of course, play two roles in which the significant others are not in direct contact with one another. Such patterns of roles hold social groups together and are vitally important in any macrocosmic view of the social network. However, we are more concerned at present with the microcosmic level of small-group formation and structure.

The simplest form of interlocked two-group is the triad, or three-group, of which the family is the most common form. This group is complicated by the addition of another person. A triad is composed of three individuals, six roles, and three two-groups. Each individual plays two roles--one in each of two two-groups. There is, however, in every three-group, a two-group of which each individual is not a part. Therefore, there are two roles in every three-

group which an individual perceives only indirectly; they are neither played by him nor are they "others" to roles that he does play. These are roles about which he does not hold complementary expectations or receive direct satisfactions. He may treat the dyad in which he plays no role as a role-player, or "other;" for example, a child may sometimes experience his parents as a single role-player. Usually, one holds a more abstract set of ideas about the dyad in which he plays no role, and notes that the two persons in that relationship get satisfactions from each other, often without him and sometimes even to his disadvantage. The "Oedipus complex" is a situation of this sort. All such situations can be seen as a desire for the individual to experience all of his world directly, the very while it is not possible to do so. Cultural knowledge in the form of "expectation" is experienced differently (and apparently more satisfactorily) than that cultural knowledge that applies to relationships beyond one's own expectations.

The great sociologist George Simmel (1908; translation 1950) was the first to investigate triadic systems successfully. He did it in terms of an almost untranslatable Latin phrase, the tertius gaudens, which I shall nevertheless translate as the "unpredictable third party" and sometimes refer to as a "joker" because it is "wild" in the sense that a joker can be played wild in poker, thereby interfering with expectations and changing formal structures.

The unpredictable or joker quality comes from the fact that each individual may try to manipulate the expectations in the third dyad, in which he does not participate. The only way that he can do this is to work on the individuals who play the roles in the "odd dyad;" he tries, therefore, to influence the roles that he does play in his dyadic relationships with those individuals so that their roles in the odd dyad will be influenced. He may create role conflict for the persons of the three-group other than himself, and use that conflict as a weapon for his own aggrandizement.

We might say that individuals tend, consciously or unconsciously, to prefer two-groups in which they have at least some degree of direct control. An individual may try to make the odd dyad into a compound unity, playing a single role vis-a-vis himself, but he may find that to be more difficult than influencing the content of the odd dyad by his behavior in the dyads which he does, to a degree, control. Psychically, this problem may be felt as jealousy. Sullivan has noted that jealousy is psychologically to a three-group what envy is to a

two-group, and that jealousy is much more complex than envy, because jealousy always involves anxiety whereas envy, in some circumstances, may not. Jealousy seems to be associated with circumstances in which a person tries to assimilate and control the odd dyad of a three-group. In this way he deals with each of his others as joker in regard to their relationship with one another.

A four-person group would, at first, appear to be more complicated than a triad, but is usually simpler. Individual two-groups can themselves become role players in what might be called compound two-groups. Thus, in a family of husband, wife, one son and one daughter, these compound two-groups could evolve: the males vis-a-vis the females, the parents vis-a-vis the children, or the mother and son vis-a-vis the father and daughter. The compound dyad may, of course, also be made up of one individual and one triad, but that is emotionally more complicated.

Both dyads and triads may be used for constructive and destructive purposes in human relations. Dyads are constructive building tools because the persons or groups playing the roles perform necessary services for one another. They are destructive because either envy or the tendency to self-assertion and power on the part of one role-player may outweigh his need for affection or services and ultimately destroy the other role. It may, in the bargain, create the need for new relationships from which to derive satisfaction. A triad builds constructively because of the capacity of role-players to treat dyads as role-playing "significant others," reducing the joker element by means of the dyadic technique. Finally, the triad is destructive if, instead of treating the external dyad as a single role-player, the individual, moved by jealousy or other fear, tries to break it up by the techniques of the joker.

The dynamics of social integration can be seen as the steady state that is reached when the destructive tendencies in the dyad are offset by triadic joker activity that calls for cooperation in the dyad, and again when the destructive tendencies in the triad are offset by propensities toward simplification through compound dyads.

So far we have been concerned with the structure of social groups. Before we proceed from social groups to social networks, a summary is in order. The two-group is the most important mechanism by which the needs of individuals are met. The three-group or larger group is the mechanism by means of which the requisites of two-groups as well as the needs of individuals are satisfied.

Individuals can fulfill the requisites of their roles in the two-group only if their own needs are fulfilled, by this or other two-groups. If some needs are fulfilled in other two-groups, then there is a likelihood that some three-groups will be formed. The three-group is basically unstable because of the jealousy that each member may exhibit toward the two-group of which he is not a member. The cure for such jealousy--and the basis for all larger social grouping--is the compound two-group, made up of compound role-players.

As in the case of individuals and of two-groups, the larger group can satisfy the more fundamental needs of its component units only if its own requisites are met. The requisites of groups have two characteristics: they are the identifying aspects of the group activity on one hand, and on the other, they are the links to other social groups. We are, thus, led to consider the social network.

Social Networks

There are obviously some individuals who are members of dyads, the other members of which are not in a dyadic relationship with each other. Such clusters of roles played by a single individual become the nodes of social networks. The individual role player is, in such a situation, the point of juncture of groups that do not provide for one another's wants, even though they do provide the basis in which an individual can get the wherewithal to provide the wants for the others within each group. A good example is the man who leaves his family to go to work in order to support that family. Within the family, he has various roles, one of which is that of breadwinner. Within the firm, he also plays a cluster of roles, one of which is that of recipient of earnings. There is, however, no necessary and meaningful set of two-groups formed by other members of the family and other members of the firm. The firm gets its labor from the family's need. The family gets its subsistence from the firm's need.

Thus, there are two types of social cement: the super-group, such as the extended family and the nation-state; and the network of social groups linked together by an unspoken contract to perform services for one another without the presence of an overriding institution. Individuals and compound groups, playing multiple roles, are the nodes of the social network, conjoining groups into more inclusive structures.

We can now summarize this view of social groups. Individuals turn to other individuals in order to satisfy needs, forming two-groups. No single two-group can satisfy all of an individual's needs; therefore, every individual participates in a number of dyads. Each of these dyads has certain requirements or needs if it is to carry out its task, and these needs are met by turning to other dyads, in the process of which a more complex social group is formed. Again, social groups develop needs in the process of satisfying the needs of dyads and of their component individuals; in order to satisfy these needs, they turn to other groups, and so on. This process goes on, from families, through firms and governments, to world organizations. If no superordinate institution appears, we have a social network; if a superordinate group materializes, we have an entity more tightly knit than a social network, which can itself enter dyads, triads and social networks.

Human Culture

We have seen that human personalities and human groups from the simplest dyad to the most complex social organization can be made manifest only in terms of culture. Culture, to quote Robert Redfield (1941), is a system of common understandings manifest in act and artifact. This definition deserves careful scrutiny, because it uses a more extensive and sophisticated approach to the attributes of culture than do other definitions. That culture consists of understandings means that it must be held in the minds of individuals. Since it must be held in the mind, it has a psychic dimension. That culture is common means that the understandings must be sufficiently alike in the minds of two or more people to permit communication and purposeful interaction. Culture, therefore, has a social dimension. It is both psychic and social. It is more, and less, than either.

That culture is, in Redfield's terms, a system means that its parts are functions of one another in the mathematical sense of function. We know that change in one part of culture is likely to lead to change in some or all other parts. Any specific cultural tradition may contain some astounding inconsistencies, but they must be inconsistencies that do not dictate contradictory behavior at a given point of time, space, or values. It is the systematic quality of the tradition, in which psyche and society come to expression, that allows prediction.

When Redfield said that culture was "manifest" he meant that it could be seen or otherwise sensed by the actors playing roles and by anthropologists. In his words, culture is manifest in terms of behavior (acts) and the material things (artifacts) that are made in the course of behavior and for the purpose of achieving goals.

A few qualities that have been included in some of the many other definitions and discussions of culture should also be mentioned. Kroeber called culture "superorganic." He meant that culture supersedes any group of human beings. A tradition exists before the individual is born and will remain after he is dead. For all that it needs human beings in order to be made or communicated, a tradition has an existence beyond particular human beings. The fact that a tradition is thus handed on from one cast of characters to the next has sometimes been confused with the fact that it must be held by many individuals at the same time. These are two distinct and necessary requisites of a tradition.

Since culture is both in the "minds" of people and is elicited in their interaction with one another, it is both necessary and possible to learn it. The specific ideas that are manifest in act and artifact; the way these ideas unite into systems; and the way to communicate so that common understanding is achieved--all must be learned by every human being. Learning one tradition, as the means by which one's needs and the needs of one's social groups are assuaged, means--obviously enough--that one has not learned some other tradition. It also means that personality is expressed in terms of that tradition, to the exclusion of others. In the past all this has too often been expressed by saying that "Culture molds the human being." Yes--and no. Paint forms a picture, too--but there is more to a picture than paint.

Anthropologists use the word "culture" in two senses, subtly distinct. We have tried, without being pedantic, to separate these usages by employing two terms: "Culture" is the human means for expressing personality and social relationships. "A tradition," sometimes called "a culture," is a set of inter-related ways of manifesting culture, limited to a part of the total field of culture. Culture is as extensive as the potential of human creatures in their expression and interaction; a tradition, like a language, is a selection that grows and changes over time, and is of a more limited range. Culture, to use the paint analogy again, is color; a tradition is a palette--limited ranges of colors, hues and intensities, applied in certain balances, for better or worse

effects. All people exhibit culture; but each person is, in a metaphorical sense at least, a product and practitioner of a particular tradition: his own.

Change and Evolution

We have talked about the personality, the social group and the tradition--about the individual, society, and culture--and the way that they are formed and maintained. Now, we shall deal more specifically with the forces of change, which may take place in individuals, in a society, or in a tradition. Individuals have "a life of their own;" similarly, a society has a life of its own; and, in a more profound sense, a tradition has a life of its own. It is true that human minds create innovations and social structures must adapt to them, adopt them, or reject them. But it is also true that there is a sort of basic, immutable sense to culture change, and that it always moves basically in one direction, despite the thousands of *culs de sac* that may arrest its movement.

Traditions change by (1) invention and (2) borrowing or diffusion. These two together are sometimes called "innovation" by anthropologists (Barnett 1953). They affect a tradition in much the same way: they either complicate it or they simplify it. (They can also presumably leave it unchanged, if there is mere replacement of one trait by another.)

Human culture grows by a process of constant complication, followed by simplification. Simplification is either the invention or discovery of new techniques and understandings. But, it is one of the fundamental insights of anthropology that a simplifying cultural idea or item, which eases or assists human thought or feeling, is seldom or never lost.

The human need for predictability means that the elements within any tradition have an interconnection, and that they have achieved a sort of consistency with one another. This does not mean that there are no contradictions, but only that the contradictions do not stand face to face in very many situations. Because of its inner consistency, a cultural tradition cannot change to just any new form; it must change in such a way that a modicum of consistency is retained within the total system.

The whole of culture change, or culture dynamics as some people prefer to call it, can be seen in analogy to the evolution of plants and animals. A certain number of culture traits (analogous to genes) are integrated into a

certain organic form, manifested in the individual and the society. In the process of learning by a new generation (analogous to inheritance) there are, in accordance with personal, social, and cultural pressures, significant changes (mutations) that may occur in the tradition.

Every creature in a given environment has certain limited potentials for doing things in new ways. Every tradition also has certain limited potentials for making changes, some of which may spread and become common understandings. When the tradition experiences and survives such a change, and the new trait is passed on by learning, then some of the potential changes in the old tradition may have been displaced. There are, moreover, new potentials for change in the new tradition, which were formerly not present. Thus every tradition is a poised system of common understandings, and it is potentially changeable by the human beings and by the social relationships that manifest it.

Now we can make the statement again, and in a new light, that human traditions are constantly being complicated by new discoveries, ideas, and techniques. These complexities are then reduced by the perception of simplifying ideas and mechanisms, and the process is repeated. Thus, culture grows.

A set of examples will make the idea clearer. When early man discovered the use of fire, he found a means not merely for enriching but also for simplifying his life. Fire, which is very simple from the cultural point of view, and which is readily available, so increases efficiency and so simplifies human activity that no tradition is without it, and no future tradition will be without it. Even the most primitive survivors of any world holocaust will, among their very first activities, kindle a fire. The idea, once present, is simple and comprehensive, doing without it complicates and disperses human energies. Fire, with all its uses, will not be lost from the cultural inventory.

To skip many millenia, we can see the same thing in agriculture. The idea of planting and tending seeds is so simple, and the results are so vastly more efficient than any other mode of getting food, that our hypothetical survivors of a world holocaust will continue to cultivate the seeds of some sort of edible plant. They may not have machinery and they may not grind wheat into bread--but they will have agriculture. And it will probably be plow agriculture, because the plow, too, was another of those shatteringly efficient and simplifying discoveries.

Extra-human energy is still another example: it seems strange today to realize that, before the steam engine, the only extra-human sources of energy were the strength of domesticated animals, the energy of flowing water to turn mills and of wind to turn windmills and fill sails, and of fire for heating and cooking. Then with the energy revolution, a new set of ideas--simplifying ideas--emerged, and since they were simplifying, they endured. The precise devices--the gasoline engine, the atomic pile, and others--may be superseded or even lost. But the idea of mechanical and chemical energy is here to stay.

Human culture is, obviously, cumulative. That does not mean that a modern American has "more" culture than an Australian aborigine, but that the tradition of the modern American individual contains more simplifying abstractions. A "civilized" tradition must include an adequate organization for the division of social tasks. The totality of the culture in the tradition (as opposed to that handled by any individual) is increased; there is more culture in the American tradition than there is in the aboriginal Australian tradition, even though any single American may not master more cultural items or ideas than any single Australian.

In addition to invention, culture can change through borrowing. This can occur through the commingling of two traditions, or the impact of a social group with one tradition or another group with a different tradition. The example best known to Americans is the expansion of Europe into the rest of the world during and after the sixteenth century. This is by no means the first--and probably not the last--expansion, but it is the best recorded expansion of one society against others.

When Columbus stood on the shores of Hispaniola, and an American Indian stood facing him, two men confronted one another who had never before dreamed of one another's existence. They had to create a relationship: they occupied contiguous space and almost surely they were terribly afraid of this new and unpredictable situation. They had to begin a search for common understandings that would make a relationship between them even possible. These understandings might have been the minimal ones of hostility and war; they might, on the other hand, have been the more complex understandings that underlie trade, government, or even friendship. This new two-group--made up of the several score of men with Columbus and the several tens of thousands of men living in Hispaniola at that time--brought new social structures into being. New traditions had to be

forged.

It was the nature of the Spanish tradition of the 15th and 16th centuries to reward belligerent people. Their values and acts led to forceful tactlessness and vast power searches on the part of individuals. It was the nature of the Indian tradition of the same time not to show hostility. In the search for relationships and common understandings that followed their meeting, the Spanish forced a great deal of their viewpoint on the Indians. The resultant "common" understandings were of the colonial sort that we know. Personality factors, social factors, and traditions of both groups combined to produce a new society, a new set of personality types, and indeed a whole new tradition.

One of the most important factors in determining innovation and the acceptance of new culture is the size of population allowed by the previously-existing tradition. If an innovation permits an increase in population, such an increase probably will take place, thereby making untenable the very tradition that existed originally. For example, the agricultural revolution led to far greater security in subsistence than existed previously, and allowed a larger number of people adequately to exploit a defined area of land than was possible under a system of hunting and gathering. The new technology allowed for population growth, and the growth occurred. The presence of all these people meant that the fairly simple government forms of the former hunting and gathering peoples, which utilize the bonds and obligations of kinship and the laws of hospitality in order to maintain themselves, were no longer adequate. New forms of government organization and new principles of coordinating loyalties had to be discovered, and put to use.

In a similar way, the energy revolution that was unleashed by the Industrial Revolution has led to a vast population explosion. The subsequent rebound is a requirement for new modes of social control and government which our national states can no longer provide. Creation of institutions that can control the new technology and the vast populations living by its means, remains one of the most urgent problems of our time.

Thus, at the same time, that culture is manifested in the human personality, it is also manifested in social groups of all sizes from the dyad to the United Nations. Yet every human being is a product of the tradition he has learned, and of his own more or less free opportunity to manipulate it and change it. Every human group exhibits a tradition--a concatenation of its many culture traits, and

its more or less free opportunity to accept and institutionalize innovations. Every family has a tradition of its own. Much--indeed, most-- of the understandings common to its members are also found in other families, but a few are not. Just so, every city government, every firm, every woman's club has its tradition. Every nation has its own tradition, too. Most of the understandings in a tradition are shared by other groups that are structurally and functionally similar to it; and these shared understandings are a part of the cultural tradition of the greater society and of the people in it.

Culture, then, is the medium of human interaction and human living. It grows through processes of creativity--increased efficiency in the fulfillment of human needs, and increase simplification by abstraction. It is expressed by human beings, but supersedes any specific set of human beings. Culture is, in short, a realm of the natural world. Just as life is a particular mode of chemical and physical processes, so culture is a particular mode of life.

One last point must be made. As culture grows concomitantly with the growth in the size and scale of society, greater and greater demands are placed on individual human beings. They do not have to learn more, but they do have to learn more abstract and complicated things. They also have to learn certain types of precision. To run a machine industry takes more precise timing on the part of workers and more fundamental organization and planning on the part of management than does a hand-tool industry. Therefore, the range of permissible behavior in some people--which is to say, the range of permissible expectations and demands in some roles--becomes narrower. In a primitive society, a few priests at most must learn such precision. But all industrial workers must learn to be on time, and to be responsible in some degree for their work. Punctuality and specific technical responsibility are less important in a peasant society. I do not mean that peasants have fewer responsibilities, but only that they can approach them in a more leisurely and less precise way. Certainly, all social animals have some responsibilities, else they would cease to be social.

Current Cultural Changes

Today, we are struggling with two "new" types of culture which are entering our tradition: culture of international organization, and what has been called "mass culture." The problem in international relations is that, even when

peoples have the same ultimate goals, they are likely to have different ideas about the way those goals should be reached. The combination of these differing ideas and dissimilar linguistic behavior means that each group is likely to blame the other for failure. Strife in a two-group may be easier to play out than adjustment to unity if one has to change one's behavior significantly in order to achieve that unity.

Mass culture, on the other hand, is a phenomenon of a quite different sort. It is simplifying and comfortable culture that is taken into many groups, in many nations, but which is not really itself associated, as tradition, with any larger or inclusive group. Food habits, dress, taste in music--all have comparatively little to do with limiting the range of social structures in family or production groups. They are, in a sense, matters of style. Modern communication and technology have led, usually unwittingly, to the spread of mass culture which has been severely criticized by people whose sense of style is offended by it.

These new cultures are not less diversified than the old cultural traditions. It is merely that the varieties are no longer space-bound and geographically isolated as was the case a few centuries or even a few decades ago. Chinese food, sarongs, national states, and chemical fertilizer are found all over the world; so are French food, trousers, socialist parties, and sewing machines. The social groups associated with our tradition demand conformity in some matters: they also allow a far wider range of personality expression and psychic fulfillment than do most of the traditions of the world.

This is not to say that all of the people who participate in the new culture "will be like us." Trying to achieve this would be ethnocentric busy-bodyism. But they will have the range of the world's cultural achievements from which to choose. And new sub-cultures--new traditions--are emerging every year. The geographical placement in space is different; the space they occupy may not be contiguous, and the groups to which one belongs (each with its peculiarities or sub-culture) may have their members spread across the globe. But that need not be seen as conformity. It can be seen as the richest field ever known to human beings from which societies and personalities can draw.

But there is also a range of problems that we are not facing. Human beings no longer have a life expectation of 45 years or less. It is now 75 years and may soon be 80.

The pace of modern technology has also produced complications. When culture becomes more technically complex or philosophically abstract as the scale of society gets larger, individuals must learn more in order to prepare themselves for a place in a social group. Just as economists have, until recently, computed the development of a society on the basis of the percentage of its workers involved in agriculture, so the criterion of development in the future may well be the proportion of the population involved in educational pursuits. All adequately functioning people learn, all their lives. But in modern society we are beginning to realize that not merely learning but also formal education itself must be a life-long affair. If we are to run the complex tradition and gigantic social structures to which we have rather suddenly fallen heir, then we must have people who are constantly retrained and kept aware of demands.

Today we have needs for new curricula in the primary schools, for new techniques in teaching languages and technology, and for solutions to the "drop-out" problems--those people who give up the struggle to become culturally more competent members of their social groups. We need a new approach to the utilization and training of part-time workers; we need new training for the under-privileged; and we need techniques for training the handicapped.

Too, education, for all its advances, is still considered a young man's game. We have placed an accent on early adulthood, but forgotten education of the elderly. We have to educate retiring people for their retirement. We also overlook the fact that psychotherapy, family therapy, social work, and many of the other "helping disciplines" are basically educational in nature, and treat them as ameliorating rather than educating devices.

I know, of course, that I will be charged with wanting to make middle class citizens out of everybody on relief--and I accept the charge. Lower class culture, as it exists in America today, is not suitable for the kind of civilization, technology, and society that the rest of us are building. And, like tribal culture, it will go. It is being superseded by the very nature of man and his social and cultural propensities. In the trite proverb, you cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs. Many good and admirable qualities in the tradition of the lower class, as in the traditions of tribal peoples, will disappear. Many modes of beauty and many jokes and rituals will be gone. But to sentimentalize is reactionary. To try to reinterpret some of it for the new ranges and modes of society and culture is, on the other

hand, one of the major tasks of all anthropologists and, indeed, of all men of good will. Folk singing became a performing art, and then went back to the new masses. So did herbalism.

A Summary View

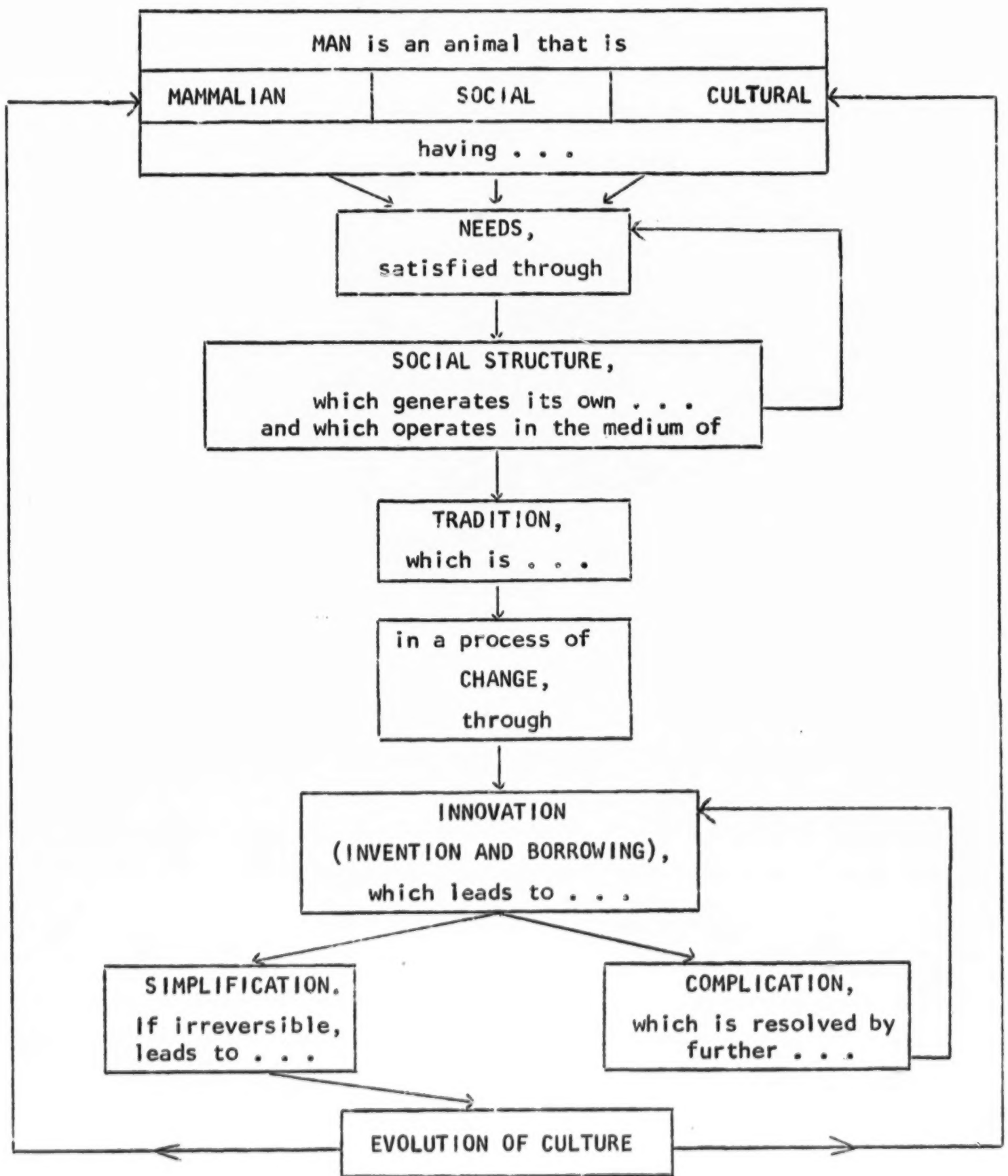
Many of the most important concepts and relationships of the preceding discussion can be reviewed by relating them to the summary chart showing "Fundamental Ideas of Anthropology." Beginning at the top of the chart, we see that man is a mammalian, social and cultural animal, having needs that are satisfied through social relationships which, because they are repetitive, form a structure. A social structure generates its own needs, which are served by other individuals and by other social groups. The complex of social structures operates in the medium of a cultural tradition which must be learned by each human being, who, in the process, acquires a personality and becomes a member of many social groups and the practitioner of one or more traditions.

Every viable tradition makes it possible for man to fulfill his needs at least in minimal degree. However, no tradition fulfills all his needs, because the very fact of fulfilling needs creates new needs. Therefore, at a faster or slower pace, every tradition is changing, because of the unfulfilled needs that remain in the process of fulfilling needs.

Changes in a tradition are called "innovation" and take two main forms--invention and borrowing, the latter sometimes called "diffusion" of culture traits and ideas.

Changes in a tradition have two simultaneous effects; these two effects may seem at first to be contradictory, but they are not. Changes tend to complicate traditions, because of the tendency of culture to "grow"--indeed, to batten on itself. The greater the diversity in the cultural base, the greater the rate of complication. However, there must simultaneously appear a simplification in the cultural tradition. Complication can proceed only so far before the chaotic quality of the complexity demands some sort of overriding generalizations or simplifying discoveries. Some of these simplifying features so affect the way in which human beings interact that doing without them becomes unthinkable. Indeed, their very simplicity blots out the preceding complication. When such simplifying innovations occur, man cannot go backwards

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to pre-existing conditions, because to do so would add to his burden while reducing his reward. Man will never do without the use of fire, the practice of agriculture, the concept of money or at least some of the various sources of extra-animal energy that he has tapped to do his work.

These simplifying discoveries, then, affect the basic nature of man, and by adding to the total store of man's traditions, affect the cultural aspects of the human being, allow new or different social forms and, ultimately, affect the very nature of the mammal itself. Man as a biological individual, man as a social creature, and man as a practitioner of culture, has changed; and the process starts again.

We have been concerned with explaining the principles of anthropology and with three ranges of phenomena: the somatic, the social, and the cultural. The idea of culture is anthropology's particular gift to modern culture. Anthropology, thus, must maintain contact with, and not contradict through ignorance, the principles of biology, psychology, and sociology. And these subjects, as well as all the social sciences including economics and political science, must deal with cultural phenomena in a way that does not needlessly contradict the anthropologist's findings and conceptions. I do not mean that one science should unthinkingly accept the pronouncement of another, but only that if the contradiction or refutation of one by another occurs, it should be done with full knowledge of the evidence.

The success of anthropology, like the success of any other single subject or of any group of subjects such as "social sciences," can be measured in the extent to which it permeates the entire culture of its place and time, and the extent to which it satisfies the needs and requirements of individuals and groups, and in so doing creates new needs, requisites, and demands.

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Section 19

ECONOMICS

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In the last few years, a significant educational revolution has taken place in the elementary classrooms of America. Academicians have joined forces with elementary school teachers to develop a concept-oriented elementary school curriculum. There are at least three reasons such a revolution has taken hold primarily in the elementary grades.

- 1 - Academicians experimenting in the elementary grades have discovered that children's experiences are potentially meaningful and can be related to important theories.
- 2 - They have found that children ask many question which can provide openings for significant learning.
- 3 - Elementary school teachers are committed to good teaching and are eager to work with new ideas.

Whether the child develops an understanding of the world around him and whether he will be able to participate creatively in our society depends on the quality of his education. Elementary school teachers today are aware of this great responsibility, and they are receptive to new ideas. This is why the elementary classroom offers a good climate for experimentation.

The teaching of modern social science in the elementary grades is long overdue. Science and technology are advancing much faster than is our ability to solve the social problems they cause. For this reason, the primary objective of social science instruction should be to encourage and nourish the problem-solving ability of young people. Making them problem-solvers will strengthen our pragmatic heritage, help them to identify themselves with national goals, and perhaps encourage more of them to choose social science as a professional career.

Problem-solvers need to use analytical tools and to think analytically, but thinking analytically requires practice and exercise over a long period of time. This is why economic education and education in the other social sciences should be introduced early in the schools.

The experiments conducted by Purdue University in the elementary grades have proved that the fundamental ideas of the various social science disciplines can be meaningfully related to first graders' experiences. If the fundamental ideas of the various disciplines are introduced in the first grade, two questions may arise: "How should the curriculum differ from grade to grade?" and "How should one teach all the significant ideas of each social science discipline in every grade?"

The answer to the first question is that the identical fundamental idea relationships should be taught and retaught in every grade level, but with increasing depth and complexity as the child's experiences become broader and deeper. The answer to the second question is more difficult. Curriculum builders will have to construct units for each grade in such a way that sociological concepts will take precedence in some units, while in others political concepts or anthropological concepts will play the bigger role. In the units where economics dominates, the economists can give the children practice in using analytical tools in such a way as to help them understand the social processes. Building such a curriculum is a long and painstaking job which will take more than one lifetime. Real craftsmanship will be necessary to compose units with an "analytical mix."

Basic Economic Ideas

Eight fundamental ideas may be used as a basis for building an economics curriculum:

1 - The conflict between unlimited wants and limited resources confronts every individual and nation. Although this conflict may vary in degree at different times and in different parts of the world, it is always present.

2 - Men try to lessen the gap between unlimited wants and limited resources. They have found that by dividing the labor they can produce faster and better. If each person does one particular job and specializes in this task, he gains in skill and increases his productivity.

There are three ways in which labor can be divided:

- a. Occupationally: There are specialists like engineers, barbers, salesmen, teachers,

dentists, farmers, and store owners, etc.
 Altogether, there are some 35,000 occupations.

- b. Geographically: Climate, soil conditions, or the skills of inhabitants enable some regions to produce certain products better than other regions. For example, Florida and California produce oranges; Brooklyn builds ships; Pittsburgh and Gary are great producers of steel.
- c. Technologically: As machines have assumed a greater role in production, they have been designed for certain specialized tasks. Different types of cracking towers are used to refine oil. A great variety of plows are produced for different types of soils and crops. Computing machines are built to solve specific types of problems.

3 - Because there is a division of labor, people do not produce all that they need for themselves; and so people become interdependent.

4 - This interdependence makes trading necessary. To facilitate trade, men have developed monetary systems and transportation methods.

5 - Because resources are too limited to permit fulfillment of all wants, all societies develop allocating mechanisms that determine:

- a. The kinds of good to be produced: whether, for example, watches, textiles, toothbrushes, clothing, bulldozers, sewing machines, or cabbages will be produced.
- b. The quantity of goods to be produced.
- c. The methods of production to be used: that is, the proportions of land, labor, and machines or tools to be used.
- d. The level of production and employment to be attained.

6 - In our economic system, the market is the major allocating mechanism. Through the market, producers and consumers find each other. It is in the producers' interest to try to sell their goods at the highest price; consumers, on the other hand, try to buy goods at the lowest price. The interaction of the two results in the market price. It is the rising or falling of the prices of the goods they produce as well as prices of land, materials, labor, and tools that make factories and businesses decide what goods and how great a quantity of them to produce, and what proportions of materials, labor, and tools or machines they will use to produce these goods.

7 - When our society decides that certain things which the market mechanism does not provide are necessary or desirable, it may modify the decisions of the market. For example, if decisions on education were left to the market, only those who could afford a private education would go to school. When our society decided on free education for all, it modified a market decision in order to promote the general welfare.

To obtain a result deemed necessary or desirable, our society has many times in its history modified market decisions through public policy, in accordance with the circumstances and prevailing value preferences of the time. Our value preferences can be grouped roughly about five social goals:

- a. Economic growth: a rising standard of living for an increasing population.
- b. Economic stability: full employment without inflation.
- c. Economic security: protection of income against the hazards of old age, death of the breadwinner, accident, disability, and unemployment.
- d. Economic freedom: freedom of choice for each individual producer and consumer so long as it does not unduly abridge the freedom of others.

- e. Economic justice: economic opportunities for all.

8 - Market decisions may be modified not only by public policy, but also by voluntary activities. In a free society, millions of volunteers produce goods and services which modify the resource allocation determined by the market.

Application of Economic Ideas in the Elementary School

How can these fundamental ideas of economic knowledge be related to the child's experiences in the elementary grades? The concept of scarcity is known to every child. Children want almost everything they see, but they soon discover that parents cannot afford to buy them everything. They learn that they have to make choices, to decide what is most important to them at any one time. They discover that as they acquire more and more of that "most important thing" it becomes less important to them and something else becomes the "most important thing." Such a built-in mechanism helps us to make choices, but the choices may not always be wise choices. Lack of information about all the possible choices may result in unwise choices. Choosing between present and future needs is difficult, since the present needs usually seem more urgent. Lack of foresight about the significance of future needs weakens man's willingness to save. Such a lack of frugality affects not only the individual's well-being, but also the nation's economic development. Children can dramatize what happens when people do not save, how the lack of savings affects their ability to build machines and tools, and how a shortage of machines and tools hinders large-scale production.

These three ideas--scarcity, making choices at any one time, and making choices between present and future needs--have significant societal applications. Scarcity that children experience can be identified with the problem which society faces. Choice-making, the sum of all the individual choices, can be related to the pattern of production. The allocation of resources between saving and consumption has serious implications for the nation's economic growth. If the children understand the drama of scarcity, they will appreciate the role of producers in their efforts to discover new and better ways of producing more in a shorter time.

Children in the primary grades can discover that whoever does useful work is a producer. They discover that in their own homes some members of the family produce goods and other members produce services. They also discover that the family uses division of labor to produce more goods and services. A class project of cookie production, on an assembly line, can give the children insight into the importance of the division of labor in factories and the contribution of the division of labor to greater consumer choices.

To show how the division of labor increases total welfare, two children can pretend that each specializes in the production of a certain good. One child may produce bologna and the other child may produce bread. Through discussion the children will discover that each cannot consume all he produced. The child producing bologna can consume only a limited quantity; the surplus, therefore, has little utility for him. The situation is the same for the other child. If the two producers trade their surpluses, they each will be better off. The two children may pretend that they represent two countries. After trading, the total welfare of each country has increased.

Children in the elementary grades can comprehend the theory underlying international trade. The following game can illustrate the theory. Two children and their desks represent two farmers on their island farms in the middle of a big lake. Each farmer grows potatoes on one side of his island and tomatoes on the other side. Farmer A harvested 12 baskets of potatoes and 4 baskets of tomatoes. Farmer B harvested 4 baskets of potatoes and 2 baskets of tomatoes. Both wished for more potatoes and tomatoes. Farmer B visited Farmer A and made the following proposal: "You produced three times as many potatoes and twice as many tomatoes as I. Since you grow potatoes best, why don't you specialize in potatoes next season and I will specialize in tomatoes, and then we can trade." This is what they did. Farmer A worked hard and produced 30 baskets of potatoes. Farmer B worked hard and produced 8 baskets of tomatoes. Farmer B thought: "Since I need only 3 baskets of tomatoes, I will take 5 baskets to Farmer A and trade for some of his potatoes." Farmer A was happy to see his neighbor come with 5 baskets of ripe tomatoes. After their trading, each was better off in spite of the fact that Farmer A was able to produce both potatoes and tomatoes better than Farmer B. The children may even bargain with each other for the exchange ratio. The game demonstrates that even if one country produces everything better than other countries, it

is still worthwhile to divide the labor.

Children discover that the money father earns for producing goods or services is useful in buying the goods or services that others produce. This discovery leads children to the further discovery that money is not wealth but a convenient medium of exchange. They can appreciate better the great invention that money is by playing the following game.

One child pretends that he is a hungry carpenter. He offers to do repair work for a baker if the baker will give him a loaf of bread. But the baker has no need of carpentry work. He is suffering from a toothache. So, the carpenter stays hungry and walks on down the street. A very worried dentist comes along. He desperately needs a repairman to fix his dentist's chair. He offers to fix the carpenter's teeth but the carpenter does not want his teeth fixed; he wants bread. Then the carpenter gets an idea. He offers to fix the dentist's chair if the dentist will fix the baker's teeth, and if the baker will pay him the loaf of bread. This barter transaction is complicated. The same transaction can be carried on much more easily with the use of money. Each person specializes in producing the good or service he can do best and accepts a money reward. Each person accepts money in payment for his work because he knows that other people will accept money from him also.

The use of money leads to the concept of price. Children discover that different goods have different prices and that the price of a good can change from time to time depending upon supply and demand. The children can discover that these price changes are a kind of allocating mechanism. They can draw cartoons showing what would happen if all the children of the country decide not to spend their dimes for yoyos but rather for ice cream. The price of yoyos will fall, and so yoyo production will fall; the price of ice cream will rise, and so ice cream production will rise. This shift in the children's tastes will affect the quantity of people and resources employed in each of the two industries.

The role of price as a determinant of what and how much is produced can lead to discussions of the roles of competition, profit, and cost in determining what businesses produce. First-grade children play grocery store, usually so that they can learn to make change. The grocery store props may also be used to teach the following concepts.

The businessman needs raw materials, workers, and tools before he can go

into business to produce a good. Before he can set a price on his good, however, the businessman must consider all his costs. Of course, he must not forget that his own salary is also a cost, since he could receive a salary somewhere else if he took a similar job. Although costs are very important in helping the businessman decide on the price of his good, he must also consider people's willingness to pay the price. If people decide not to buy his good, he may have to lower his price. However, if he lowers his price below the cost, he will suffer losses. If many people want to buy his good, the businessman may decide to raise the price of the good. If the price of the good goes above the costs, the businessman earns a profit.

Since the businessman never knows if he will have customers for his good, he is taking a risk in producing it. Profit is the reward for risk-taking. To get an idea of how profit is figured, children can use the grocery store in the following way: each child may bring from home two items for the game. The class prepares a display of the goods. The teacher marks the price tags so that total sales amount to \$15. The children should not be aware that this total has been set. One child plays storekeeper; he has a helper. The rest of the class are customers.

Each customer may buy two items for which he pays with play money. There should be a total of \$15 in circulation. When the store has sold out, the storekeeper, with the teacher's help, counts the money. The teacher then asks, "Is this your profit?" Obviously, the answer is no, because the grocer has many bills to pay before he knows his profit. At this point the teacher may surprise the class by handing the grocer one sealed envelope after another. A note in the first envelope says: "Please pay rent - \$2." The grocer places \$2 in the envelope and hands it back to the teacher. Using this procedure, the following bills are paid:

Factory goods	\$5.00
Water bill.	\$.50
Telephone bill.	\$.50
Interest on loan.	\$.25
Taxes	\$1.00
Insurance	\$.25
Savings to buy new equipment. . .	\$.50
Helper's wages.	\$1.50
Owner's wages	\$2.00
Rent.	\$2.00
Light	\$.50
	<u>\$14.00</u>

After the bills have been paid, the teacher hands the grocer another envelope with a note: "If you have any money left, it is your profit."

The teacher can carry the game further by introducing competition. The first store remains the same as before. A second store is set up with a larger inventory of goods at slightly lower prices (the price tags in this case should also add up to \$15). The same total amount of money, \$15, remains in circulation. The game can be played as before, but now the customers decide which store they want to buy from. Many will choose the one that has lower prices. The game lasts until all customers have spent all their money. The two stores then count their incomes. The teacher discusses these questions with the class: Why did the first store lose so many customers? What can this store do to recover customers? (It can lower prices and offer better services.)

Whereas the storekeeper has a degree of power to set prices, the farmer has little to say about the price at which he can sell his crop. To gain an understanding of how the price of grain is determined, the children can play a game which shows how the grain market operates.

Four children play wheat producers, four play buyers, and the teacher is the salesman. Before the game starts, the class prepares play money (40 one-dollar bills) and small cut-out trucks (16). They also make the following signs: BUYER (4 signs), SALESMAN, UNITED STATES, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, ARGENTINA.

The teacher explains that not all people are willing to pay the same price for the grain and that in the real grain market each buyer would make up his own mind. But to keep the game simple, each of the four buyers will be given a slip of paper telling how much he is willing to pay. The slip for the first buyer says: "I want to buy 4 truckloads of what and I will pay up to \$4 a truckload." The slips for the other three buyers will be the same except that their top bids will be \$3, \$2, and \$1, respectively. Each buyer should have enough play money to cover his top bid (\$16, \$12, \$8, \$4).

The children who take the role of wheat farmers can introduce their countries. They explain that Argentina, Australia, Canada, and the United States are among the few countries that produce enough wheat to sell to other countries. Each farmer-producer pretends to telephone instructions to the salesman. Weather and other conditions have been such that each country has produced two truckloads this year. The farmer-producer of Australia, for example, tells the salesman: "Australia has two truckloads of wheat and wants to sell them at the highest price you can get."

The farmer-producers of Argentina, Canada, and the United States also give the same instructions to the salesman. The salesman adds the amounts on the blackboard and announces that a total of eight truckloads of wheat are for sale.

The buyers come to the market. The bidding starts. The salesman must sell all of the wheat at the same price. The salesman calls out: "Who is willing to pay \$1 for a truckload of wheat?" All four buyers raise their hands to buy; each says: "I want to buy 4 truckloads." This makes a total of sixteen truckloads, twice the amount the salesman has. Since the buyers appear to be eager to buy, the salesman asks the farmer-producers whether he should try to sell at a higher price. They say yes, and he tries \$2 a load. This time three buyers are willing to buy four loads each. This makes a demand for twelve truckloads, but the salesman has only eight truckloads to sell. Obviously, he should try for a still higher price, so he asks: "Who is willing to pay \$3 a truckload?" This time two buyers raise their hands. Each wants four loads, or a total of eight loads. Just to make sure this is the best possible price, the salesman tries a higher price--\$4 a load. This time there is only one buyer and he wants only four loads. This would leave the salesman with four loads still unsold. So he turns back to the two buyers and sells the wheat at \$3 a load. Each buyer pays the salesman \$12. He asks the four farmer-producers to deliver the wheat and pays each of them \$6. He hands each buyer four cut-out trucks.

The class pretends that a year has passed. Each farmer-producer has tried to raise as much grain as possible. The weather has been good, and the farmer-producers telephone to the salesman that each has four truckloads to sell. The salesman then offers sixteen truckloads for sale at the grain market. The bidding starts at \$1 as before, with all four buyers eager to buy four loads. This would mean \$16 for the sixteen loads available. The salesman then tries \$2 a load; this time only three buyers raise their hands, and they want only twelve loads altogether. If the salesman tries \$3 (the price he got last year), only two buyers are willing to take a total of eight loads. Since the salesman has to sell all the wheat he has, he goes back to the first bid--\$1 a load for sixteen loads.

As before, the buyers pay the salesman and the farmer-producers deliver the wheat. Each farmer-producer gets \$4.

The teacher puts the results of the two years' transactions on the black-

board:

1st year: 8 truckloads sold at \$3 each . . . \$24
2nd year: 16 truckloads sold at \$1 each . . . \$16

The class can discuss why the farmers earned less even though they produced more. Since the amount of bread bought does not change much when the price goes down a little, its price must go down a great deal before people will buy much more of it. When there is more grain to make more bread, its price must go down a great deal, too. The teacher explains that low prices, insects and bad weather are risks that farmers face. There are millions of farmers all over the world, and none know how much grain there will be to sell until it comes to market.

Whereas grain farmers have to sell the goods at a price which is determined by the interaction of many buyers and sellers, the monopolist has much power to determine prices. The following game can illustrate this power.

The teacher announces that he has invented and patented a toy airplane with a new kind of engine that can run for five years without a change of batteries. It costs him fifty cents to produce each airplane, and he would like to find out what price to charge to get the biggest profit. Since the teacher is the only producer of such an airplane, he can get a good price, but if he sets it too high, too few people will buy the airplane and he cannot profit. If he charges too low a price, it will take too many buyers before he can begin to make a profit.

Six girls and six boys are selected as buyers and given some play money. The amount each child is given represents the price he is willing to pay for a plane. The girls will be given smaller amounts because they would probably have less interest in airplanes than would boys. The teacher can distribute the money in this manner:

2 girls: \$1 each	2 boys: \$4 each
2 girls: \$2 each	2 boys: \$5 each
2 girls: \$3 each	2 boys: \$6 each

Testing the eagerness of the buyers, the teacher begins: "How many would like to buy an airplane at a price of \$6?" Two boys raise their hands. The teacher continues to test the prices, and tabulates the data on the blackboard.

No. of Airplanes	Production Cost	Price	Income	Profit
2	\$1	\$6	\$12	\$11
4	\$2	\$5	\$20	\$18
6	\$3	\$4	\$24	\$21
8	\$4	\$3	\$24	\$20
10	\$5	\$2	\$20	\$15
12	\$6	\$1	\$12	\$ 6

After the survey is completed, the class can study the results to see which price would earn highest profit. The study of the chart should help the children discover the rule that the highest price doesn't mean the highest profit if many more consumers are willing to buy at a lower price.

The class might discuss various aspects of this example of price setting. Could the consumers go anywhere else to buy this toy? (No, because the manufacturer had patented his invention so that no one else could produce it.) How does this fact affect the price? (This manufacturer can charge a higher price, since there is no competition.) Can he charge any price? (No, if the price is too high, people may not buy this airplane.) Why is it that a wheat farmer cannot set his price in the same way that the toy airplane manufacturer could? (If the farmer charged more for his wheat, the consumers could easily buy elsewhere.)

Children of the lower elementary grades can dramatize that in the organizing of factories the factors of production are combined in the proper way. Children may act out what happens if ten children are assigned to make a display, but only one pair of scissors and one brush are available. What happens if there are lots of scissors and brushes available, but only one child is assigned to do the display? Such exercises can give children an idea of the complicated role of the businessman. He must set up a factory that is neither too big nor too small, hire the right number of workers, and purchase the right number of tools and machines, and enough raw material to keep the machines supplied without creating a storage problem. In addition, he must guess correctly the quantity of goods that he will be able to sell.

The class might draw funny pictures showing what happens when the businessman makes wrong decisions--a huge building with one man inside pounding with a hammer; a very small building with an overflow of big machines and men working outside in the rain; a big building with many machines, but the workers are snoozing because the businessman used up all his money and could not buy

raw materials. Each child might tell a story about the mistake the businessman in his drawing made.

The role of government in economics can be introduced in various ways. In the first grade, children learn that families elect a mayor and lawmakers for their city, a governor and lawmakers for their state, and a President and lawmakers for their country. They also learn how families buy some goods and services together, through government officials. The mayor or the governor or the President prepares a long shopping list of goods and services that the families might buy together. The mayor and the city lawmakers, or the governor and the state lawmakers, or the President and the country's lawmakers discuss their different shopping lists. The families tell the lawmakers what they think about the shopping lists. Some families think the shopping lists are too long and will cost too much. Other families think the lists are too short. Finally, after much discussion, a city shopping list, a state shopping list, and a shopping list for the whole country are decided upon.

The city or state shopping list tells how many streets and highways the families should build together. The national shopping list tells how much land will be bought for national parks and how many airplanes, ships and tanks should be built and how the government will pay for all these expenses. The shopping lists also tell how much money should be used to help the needy and how the people should pay for this help.

The children may learn that resources are allocated not only through buyers and sellers in the market or by the government; but also that people volunteer to produce a large quantity of goods and services every year for many causes which they feel important. Such volunteering is an exercise of freedom in a free society.

At the beginning of this paper, it was said that the purpose of social science education is to develop the problem-solving ability of children. The problem-solving approach is the application of the scientific method to fulfill social needs. Let us take an example from the children's immediate environment--the neighborhood. If the neighborhood is dirty, the children may study this community concern by dividing it into the following steps:

STEP 1 - Evidence: The teacher can ask the children to observe on their way to and from school how dirty the neighborhood is, and to report on the evidence.

STEP II - Definition: The class may decide what the big question is. (How can we make our neighborhood cleaner?) The question may be printed on a large sheet of paper and placed above the blackboard to emphasize its importance.

STEP III - Aspects: The class may be divided into three groups to study and report on how dirtiness affects our health, our possessions, and our happiness.

- a. How dirtiness affects our health. (Dirt spreads disease. Things left on sidewalks can cause accidents. Dirt encourages rats. Dirt makes the air unwholesome.)
- b. How dirtiness affects what we own. (People do not want to buy houses in dirty neighborhoods. People who own houses there have to sell them at a lower price than they would get for a house in a clean neighborhood. Dirt makes houses, furnishings, clothing, automobiles wear out faster.)
- c. How dirtiness affects our happiness. (Many good neighbors move to cleaner neighborhoods. Dirty neighborhoods are unpleasant to look at. People are more cheerful when a neighborhood is well kept.)

STEP IV - Size: The class should make a statistical survey of the problem. In the area under discussion, they should count how many toys were left outside, how many yards there are and how many of them are not kept clean, how many streets have paper or trash in the gutter, and other such evidence.

STEP V - Causes: The class should investigate the causes of the problem. (The class might find, for example, that streets and sidewalks are not swept, people with bad habits throw trash on the ground or do not cover their trash cans, trash collection trucks do not come around regularly, heavy trucks stir up dirt.) After the class study, a panel can put the

findings into report form.

STEP VI - Solution: The class should make a list of various ways the problem could be solved. When these solutions have been listed, they may cluster into three groups:

- a. What can each person do?
- b. What can the people do together?
- c. What can the government do?

The class may be divided into groups for the carrying out of recommended solutions. For example, one group might visit a kindergarten or a first-grade class and talk to the children about bad habits like dropping trash on the ground or leaving toys on the sidewalks. Other groups might organize children to start a clean-up campaign in the neighborhood; they also might prepare posters that explain why the neighborhood be kept clean and how neighbors can work together to do something about the problem. One group might visit the mayor or the sanitation department--or invite an official to visit the class--to find out about the department's plans to provide better services for cleanliness in the neighborhood.

As the children grow up, the fundamental ideas of economic knowledge will be taught again and again, but with greater depth and always related to more complex situations. By the time the children get to the 12th grade, the economics courses which are taught now as introductory courses will become a culminating activity. The 12th grade course should coordinate in a systematic manner the main ideas which children have discovered and rediscovered in their community, in far-away lands, in history, and in the problem courses.

Conclusion

Sometimes people argue that children of the lower elementary grades should not be exposed to social realities. Regardless of adults' wishes to protect children, children are constantly and involuntarily exposed to social realities. They are witnesses and participants in the economic and social world. In the schools of our country, children of many social and economic backgrounds rub shoulders: poor children, rich children, the children of businessmen, teachers, farmers, salesmen, factory workers, and all the other occupations. Children's experiences have widened, through the mass media, from

their homes to all around the world and out into space. These are the reasons that the responsibility of teachers grows. Children need all the help they can get to find order underlying the seeming chaos of experience in an increasingly urbanized world and an expanding universe.